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The

United Empire Loyalists'
Association
OF ONTARIO.

Annual Transactions.

For the year ending March 8, 1900.

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1899-1904

Toronto:
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND PUBLISHING CO., LIMITED,
1900.

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ONTARIO, Toronto.

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THE
UNITED STATES
LOYALTY
ASSOCIATION

VOL. 1



1900

ANNUAL
TRANSACTIONS

1899 - 1900

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Officers, 1900=1901.

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ALLAN McLEAN HOWARD.

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Alexandria.	MRS. GRANT MACDONALD.

Vice-Presidents *Ex-Officio*.

CAPTAIN JOHN D. SERVOS, President Virgil Branch.
 CHIEF JACOB SALEM JOHNSON, KAHNONKWENYAH.
 CHIEF SAMSON GREEN, ANNOSOTHKAH.

Honorary Secretary-Treasurer.

WILLIAM HAMILTON MERRITT, 15 Toronto Street.

Honorary Assistant Secretary.

MISS NINA MARY CLARKSON, 131 Beverley Street.

Executive Committee.

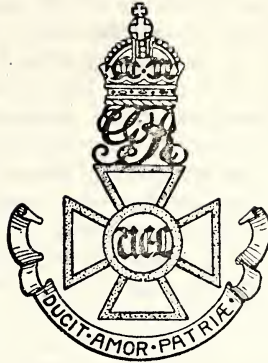
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EUGENE A. MACLAURIN,	WILLIAM ROAF, Q.C.,
ROBERT E. A. LAND,	ALEXANDER CLARK CASSELMAN,
REV. CHARLES EDWARD THOMSON.	

Investigating Committee.

WILLIAM HENRY EAKINS,	JOHN McBEAN,
MAURICE STANLEY BOEHM,	EDWARD MARION CHADWICK.

Ladies' Committee.

MRS. FORSYTH GRANT,	MISS DICKSON,
" GRANT MACDONALD,	" MERRITT,
" DIGNAM,	MRS. HICKS,
" BRERETON,	" IRELAND,
" HENRY CAWTHRA,	" GEORGE KERR,
" DUNN,	MISS LAURA CLARKE,
MRS. SPRAGGE.	



The United Empire Loyalists' Association.

"United Empire Loyalists" are "those persons who remained faithful to the British Crown during and after the revolutionary war in America," or, to be more precise, 1—"the families who adhered to the Unity of the Empire and joined the Royal Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783." [*Order in Council passed at Quebec 9th November, 1789*].

2.—"Those who, both at and after the revolution, were, in consequence of their loyalty, driven out of the revolted States, or found continued residence in those States to be intolerable by reason of the persecutions to which they were subjected, or voluntarily withdrew therefrom in order to reside under the flag to which they desired that they and their children should remain forever loyal;" and 3, "Their posterity." [*Order in Council above referred to.*]

The eldest or adult members of United Empire Loyalist families who settled in Canada, for the most part passed away in the next few succeeding years after their arrival.

It was their sons mainly who preserved this country to the British Crown in the War of 1812-14.

The grandchildren of the original U. E. Loyalists are becoming fewer in number year by year. The fourth generation are the men and women of the present day.

The descendants of the U. E. Loyalists are now widely dispersed; some are building up new provinces in what but a few years ago was the illimitable wilderness of the North West, whilst others are scattered throughout the world.

Some few (a very few, it is to be feared), still retain the original homestead granted by the Crown to their forefathers.

But few records of the first U. E. Loyalists, their previous homes and histories, their individual experiences, and the circumstances attending their settlement in Canada, having been preserved by their families, so far as is known, such things being gradually dispersed and lost in various ways, it was felt that unless some systematic effort was made to gather together the fragments which might yet be found, every trace of them would in time be lost, excepting such as are fortunately preserved in the public archives—and which are for the most part meagre and inadequate fitly to represent and illustrate the inner life, if such an expression may be used, of the U. E. Loyalist emigration as an historical event without precedent or parallel.

With the object, therefore, of organizing the means of preserving such historic records, with also that of keeping bright the spirit of loyalty in the inheritors of so noble an ancestry, the formation of this association was resolved upon, and the initial steps toward that end were taken at a meeting called by Mr. William Hamilton Merritt and others, and held in the Canadian Institute, February 28th, 1896.

Mr. Allan McLean Howard was appointed Chairman, and Mr. Merritt, Secretary *pro tem*.

The following Committee was also appointed to draft a Constitution :

Mr. McLean Howard, Mr. Merritt, Mrs. Hicks, Miss Merritt, Mr. S. C. Biggs, Mr. H. H. Cook, Lt.-Col. George A. Shaw, Mr. Charles E. Ryerson, and Dr. George S. Ryerson, and thus was formed "The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario," the first general meeting of which was held at the same place May 11th, 1896. The Honourable John Beverley Robinson was unanimously elected President, and Mr. William Hamilton Merritt Secretary. Much was expected from Mr. Robinson in this position, because of the prominence of his official and social position, his long experience of public life, and because he was known to be well versed in matters appertaining to the early history of this country, and took a keen interest in everything connected therewith. But it was otherwise ordered, and under circumstances of an almost tragic nature, whilst preparing to speak at a great public meeting, Mr. Robinson died, June 19th, 1896. In him the Association lost an unselfish and patriotic friend, and an eminent President. Dr. George Sterling Ryerson was elected President in his place, and continued in office until March, 1898, when he was succeeded by Mr. Herman Henry Cook, who has held the office to the present time.

An interesting circumstance connected with the formation of the Association and the election of its officers is worthy of special mention. It was ascertained that at this late date, one hundred and thirteen years after the close of the revolutionary war, there still survived several sons and daughters of U. E.

Loyalists who served in that war. It was felt that the Association would be honouring itself by appropriately recognizing these men and women, and they were accordingly elected honorary vice-presidents of the Association.

A branch of the U. E. Loyalists' Association was formed at Virgil, of which Capt. John D. Servos is the President.

It has been decided that the Six Nations Indians of the Grand River and Tyendinaga (Bay of Quinte) Reserves, whose migration to Canada was under the same circumstances, and simultaneous with that of the U. E. Loyalists, should be considered as branch associations. Chief Jacob Salem Johnson, Kahnnonkwenyah, of the former, and Chief Samson Green, Annosothkah, of the latter, have been elected honorary vice-presidents as representatives in each case of such branches, and presented by the general association with commemorative silver medals to be worn by them and their successors in office.

The Association is not only non-political, as its constitution declares, but it is also wholly untrammelled by social considerations, and differs from the principal hereditary or historical associations elsewhere, in that it makes no requirement of social status as a condition of membership.

The constitution and by-laws as now printed, embracing certain further amendments since made, were revised in April 1897, by a special committee consisting of the President, Dr. Ryerson; the Vice-President, Mr. Allan McLean Howard; the Secretary, Mr. William Hamilton Merritt; the Honorary Legal Adviser, Mr. E. M. Chadwick; the Executive Committee; Messrs. H. H. Cook, Stephen M. Jarvis, Eugene A. Maclaurin, Charles E. Ryerson, Lt.-Col. Shaw, the Rev. W. S. Ball, the Rev. C. E. Thomson, and Mr. William Roaf.

The Order in Council above referred to is as follows:—

Whereas it is recorded that at the Council Chamber at Quebec on Monday, 9th November, 1789, His Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Dorchester intimated to the Council that it was his wish to put a mark of honour upon the families who had adhered to the unity of the Empire, and joined the Royal Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783, the Council concurring with His Lordship, it is accordingly ordered, 'That the several Land Boards take course for preserving a registry of the names of all persons falling under the description aforementioned, to the end that their posterity may be discriminated from the future settlers, in the parish registers and rolls of the militia of their respective districts and other public remembrances of the Provinces, as proper objects, by their persevering in the fidelity and conduct so honourable in their ancestors, for distinguished benefits and privileges.'

Constitution and By-Laws.

Name and Chief Seat.

I. The organization shall be known as the "United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario," hereinafter referred to as the General Association, and its chief seat shall be at Toronto.

Branches.

II. Branches of the Association may be established at any place in the Province of Ontario, where, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, it is deemed advisable, and the President of such branch shall be *ex-officio* a Vice-President of the General Association.

Members of such branches shall be entitled to the same privileges as Associate Members of the General Association.

Objects.

III. The objects of the Association shall be—

(a) To unite together, irrespective of creed or political party, the descendants of those families who, during the American Revolutionary War of 1775 to 1783, sacrificed their homes in retaining their loyalty to the British Crown, and to perpetuate this spirit of loyalty to the Empire.

(b) To preserve the history and traditions of that important epoch in Canadian history, by rescuing from oblivion the history and traditions of the Loyalist families before it is too late.

(c) To collect together in a suitable place the portraits, relics, and documents relating to the United Empire Loyalists, which are now scattered throughout the Dominion.

(d) To publish an historical and genealogical journal, or annual transactions.

Qualification for Membership.

IV. All persons of either sex resident in Ontario, or in any province or elsewhere where there is no United Empire Loyalist Association, who can trace their lineal descent, by either male or female line, from the United Empire Loyalists, shall be eligible for ordinary membership. The wives or husbands of ordinary members, who are not otherwise qualified for membership, may be elected Associate members, but are not entitled to vote.

Members under the age of 17 are not entitled to vote. Charter members shall be those members who joined prior to and including the regular meeting in April 1897. They shall have the letter "C" placed after their names on the roll of members.

Members of branches become *ipso facto* Associate Members of the General Association, but will not be entitled to notice of meetings. They may become Ordinary Members on payment of fifty cents to the General Association, after their application has been approved of by the Investigating Committee.

Election of Members.

V. A form of recommendation for admission, signed by two members, shall be forwarded to the Secretary, and by him laid before the committee appointed for the purpose of investigating the qualifications of applicants for membership.

If at the next or any subsequent regular meeting the report of this committee is satisfactory, the person shall be declared elected, unless a ballot is called for, and a majority shall elect.

The Association shall have power at a Special General Meeting called for that purpose to expel any member, for cause shown, by a three-fourths majority of those present.

Fees.

VI. The annual membership and associate membership fee shall be one dollar. A family—viz., husband, wife and children residing at home—shall pay two dollars per annum; non-resident membership fee, fifty cents, payable in advance.

The annual fees shall be due on the second Thursday in March in each year.

Any member or associate member being one year in arrear may be struck off the list of members by the Executive Committee.

No member shall be entitled to vote at election of officers who is more than one year in arrear for dues.

Any person eligible may become a life member by paying the sum of \$15, and shall be exempt from further payments.

Officers.

VII. The office-bearers shall consist of a President, five Vice-Presidents, one of whom shall be a lady elected by the Ladies' Committee as their presiding officer, and the Presidents of Branches, who are *ex-officio* Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer, and Assistant Secretary, who may be a lady.

Honorary Vice-Presidents and Members.

VIII. (a) All sons and daughters of United Empire Loyalists now living shall be Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association.

(b) Distinguished men and women, descendants of United Empire Loyalists, non-resident in the Province, may be elected by a majority of those present at a meeting, as Honorary Vice-Presidents; such Vice-Presidents shall not be liable for the annual fee.

(c) Members of the Association, gentlemen or ladies, who, in the opinion of a two-thirds majority of the meeting, have rendered distinguished service to the Association may be elected Honorary Members.

The name of such member or Honorary Vice-President must be proposed and seconded at a regular meeting at least four weeks before the date of election.

The Executive Committee

IX. Shall consist of seven members, to be elected at the annual meeting, three of whom shall form a quorum, and shall manage the affairs of the Association. The President and Vice-Presidents (actual and *ex-officio*) and Secretary-Treasurer shall be *ex-officio* members of this committee.

The two members of this Executive Committee and the four members of the Ladies' Committee whose names appear first (right and left) in the list shall retire annually, but shall be eligible for re-election at the next following meeting.

The Investigating Committee

X. Shall consist of three members, two of whom shall form a quorum. All persons nominated for membership shall be favourably reported upon by them before being elected to membership by the Association.

The Ladies' Committee

XI. Shall consist of twelve members, five of whom shall form a quorum. They shall arrange all matters submitted to them by the Association or by the Executive Committee, to whom they shall respectively report.

Election of Officers and Committees.

XII. All officers and Standing Committees of the Association shall be elected at the annual meeting, or as soon thereafter as conveniently may be, if for any reason such election cannot take place at the annual meeting. And such officers and Committees shall hold office until the next annual meeting, or until their successors are elected; vacancies occurring during the year may be filled by election as may be required. Special Committees may be appointed at any regular or special general meeting. Where it is not otherwise stated the officers and members of Committees shall be gentlemen.

The Past President shall be an *ex-officio* member of the Executive Committee, and the past Lady Vice-President shall be an *ex-officio* member of the Ladies' Committee, for one year after they cease to hold their offices.

Nominations for all offices and the Standing Committees of the Association shall be made one month prior to the annual meeting. All officers and Standing Committees of the Association shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting, but where only one name for any office, or only the required number to compose any Standing Committee, have been placed in nomination, a ballot shall not be taken, but the person or persons so nominated shall be declared duly elected.

The President may be re-elected for one additional term, but he cannot retain office for more than two years in succession.

Duties of Officers.

XIII. The President shall be chairman of all meetings at which he shall be present, and in his absence one of the Vice-Presidents shall take the chair.

In the absence of the Vice-Presidents, the members present shall elect a chairman for the meeting.

XIV. The Secretary-Treasurer shall hold in trust the funds of the Association, which shall be deposited in the name of the Association in a bank approved by the Committee. He shall receive all moneys, pay all accounts that are properly certified as correct, and shall present, when required, from time to time a statement of accounts.

XV. The Secretary-Treasurer or the Assistant Secretary shall attend all meetings, shall take the minutes of the proceedings, shall be responsible for the safe custody of all papers, books, and other property, and under the direction of the Executive Committee shall conduct the general business of the Association.

Meetings.

XVI. The annual general meeting for the election of office-bearers, and the transaction of the business of the Association, shall be held in the city of Toronto, on the date of the regular meeting in March in each year.

The regular meetings shall be held on the second Thursday in every month, except during such summer months as may be thought desirable not to meet by the members present at the regular meeting in May.

Meetings may be held at such an hour and place as the Executive Committee appoints, of which due notice shall be sent to every member.

XVII. General meetings other than the regular monthly meetings may be called for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the transaction of business.

The business or subject for discussion shall be specified in the special notice convening such a meeting, which shall be sent to every member. Such a special meeting may be called at any time by the President, or in his absence by the Executive Committee.

XVIII. Extraordinary or urgent business may be transacted at any meeting without special notice, when considered absolutely necessary by a three-fourths majority of those present.

XIX. At all general meetings, whether special or annual, fifteen members shall form a quorum.

Papers.

XX. Papers on subjects relating to the objects of the Association, and to cognate subjects, may be read by members, or by others who may be requested to do so, at any regular meeting or any special meeting called for this purpose.

Papers shall not exceed twenty minutes in length, but the time for reading may be extended by vote of the members.

All papers read shall become the property of the Association.

Order of Business.

- XXI. 1. Reading of Minutes.
2. Reading of Correspondence.
3. Passing of Accounts.
4. Propositions for Membership.
5. Reports of Committees.
6. Election to Membership.
7. Notices of Motion.
8. General Business.
9. Election of Officers.
10. Reading of Papers.

Amendments to the Constitution and By-laws.

XXII. The foregoing Constitution and By-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any meeting, but notice of motion for such amendment must be given at least four weeks previous to the discussion of the same, of which notice the Secretary shall duly inform every member.

ANNUAL REPORT.

Your Committee reports that this Association has increased from 317 to 400 members during the past year.

On the evening of the annual meeting, March 9th, 1899, a very enjoyable reception was held at the home of Mrs. Clarkson, 131 Beverley Street, in honour of Sir John Bourinot. Unfortunately he was prevented from being present by the severe illness of Lady Bourinot.

Four members of this Association were appointed a Committee to make collections to assist in erecting a monument to Laura Secord, in which they were very successful. The sum of about \$300 is in the hands of the Treasurer, Mr. Land, and collections are still being made.

At the request of Mr. Bain, Librarian of the Toronto Public Library, a meeting of the Executive Committee of this Association was held on October 27th. He stated that valuable papers relating to the U. E. Loyalists had been found in the Library of Congress at Washington, and were available for copying. Consequently, on Nov. 1st, a deputation with Mr. Bain waited upon the Government to petition for the sum of \$500 to secure part of the cost of publishing the volumes containing the Montreal notes relating to the history of Upper Canada. The Premier, Hon. G. W. Ross, was pleased to recommend that the grant should be made, and it was subsequently passed by the Legislative Assembly.

In order to make the final meeting of this Association (in 1899) of more than usual interest before closing for the summer months, the June meeting was held in the Historical Exhibition in Victoria College. Innumerable objects of interest to the Association were to be seen, and amongst them the communion service presented by Queen Anne to the Mohawk Indians in 1710.

Many interesting papers have been read at the meetings as follows :—

"Loyalists of the County of Dundas," by Mr. A. C. Casselman.

"A Sketch of Captain Peter Teeple and his Family," by Mr. W. B. Waterbury.

"Settlement of Adolphustown or the Fourth Town," by Dr. Canniff.

"Loyalists of 1812," by Sir John G. Bourinot, K.C.M.G., LL.D.

"Birthplace and Antecedents of Major Thomas Merritt, U.E.L." by Miss C. N. Merritt.

"Six Nations Indians as U. E. Loyalists," by Mr. E. M. Chadwick.

"Rogers, Ranger and Loyalist," by Mr. Walter Rogers, Barrister-at-law, Inner Temple, London, England.

"Loyalists of the County of Dundas," Part II., by Mr. A. C. Casselman.

"Samuel Strong and the Georgia Loyalists," by Lady Dilke.

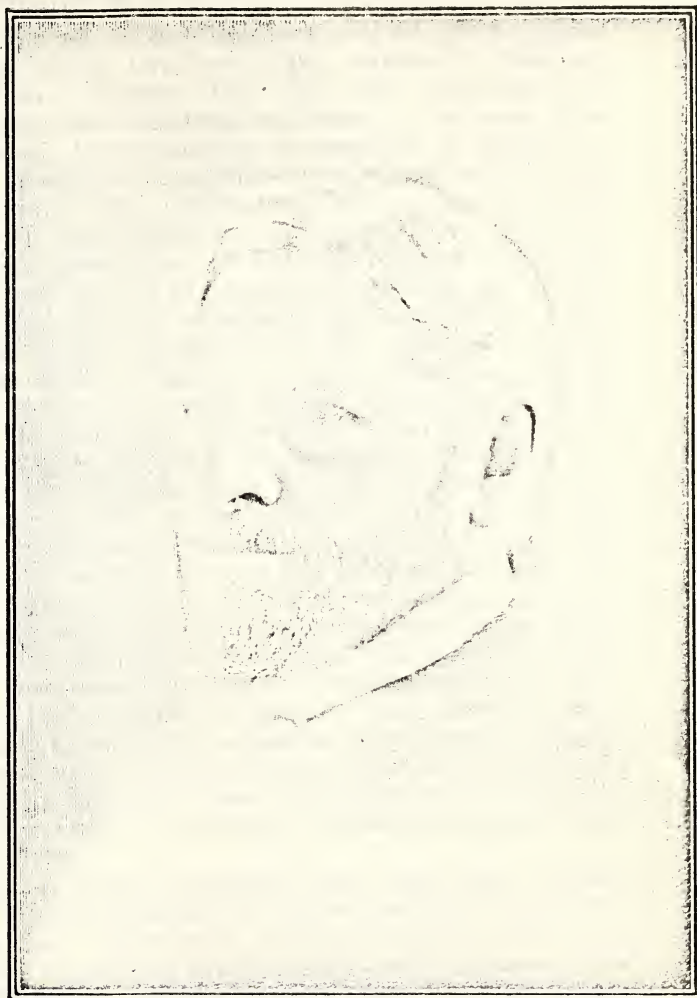
"A Sketch of the Bruce Family," by Mrs. Carey.

Respectfully submitted,

N. M. CLARKSON,

April, 1900.

Hon. Assistant Secretary.



LIEUT. COL. GEORGE STERLING RYERSON,
Army Medical Staff
President, June, 1896—March, 1898.

LIEUT.-COL. GEORGE STERLING RYERSON, M.D.

Lieut.-Col. Ryerson, second President of the U. E. Loyalists' Association, the son of Rev. George and Isabella D. (Sterling) Ryerson, was born in Toronto, Jan. 21st, 1854. He inherited a name which is a household word in Canada. His uncle, Rev. Egerton Ryerson, distinguished as a preacher, a debater, a journalist and an historian, was the founder of the Public School System of Ontario. His grandfather, Col. Joseph Ryerson, **U. E. L.**, served with distinction throughout the revolutionary war as an officer in the Prince of Wales New Jersey Volunteers, and after the peace in 1783 came to New Brunswick, and in 1799 removed to Upper Canada, settling in the township of Charlotteville, in the county of Norfolk. He was appointed the first Sheriff of that county, chairman of the Board of Quarter Sessions and of the first School Board. With him came his brother Capt. afterwards Col. Samuel Ryerse, the founder of Port Ryerse, and the first Judge of the district court of Norfolk.

In the war of 1812-15 Col. Joseph Ryerson with his three sons, George, William and John, shared in all the notable engagements of that war in the western peninsula. George, the father of our second President, destined, like his four brothers, to become an eminent divine of the Methodist Church, served as lieutenant in his father's regiment of Norfolk militia and was present at the taking of Detroit, and was wounded on Nov. 28th, 1812, when the Americans made an unsuccessful attempt to invade Canada at Fort Erie. He shared in the dangers and glories of Col. Harvey's night attack at Stoney Creek, in the audacious and successful affair at Beaver Dam and was one of those whose valour and fortitude were severely tried at Lundy's Lane. He afterwards became a minister of the Catholic Apostolic Church and head of that Church in America.

Accordingly, it is not surprising that Lieut.-Col. Ryerson should have achieved military, as well as academic and professional distinction. Educated at the Galt Grammar School, he began the study of medicine in 1871, and attended lectures at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, at New York, at Trinity Medical College, Toronto, and at the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, Edinburgh. After further studies under eminent specialists in London, Heidelberg, Paris and Vienna, he returned to Canada in 1878 and in 1880 was appointed oculist and aurist to the Toronto General Hospital. In the same year he was installed in the chair of ophthalmology and otology in Trinity University, his *alma mater* from which he was graduated in 1875.

In 1870 during the Fenian Raid, Lieut.-Col. Ryerson served

as a member of the Queen's Own Rifles. Having been appointed in 1881 surgeon of the 10th Royal Regiment, (now Royal Grenadiers), he served with that corps in the North-west Rebellion of 1885 (medal with clasp) and in recognition of his services was promoted to surgeon-major and received the decoration of the Order of St. John. "Surgeon Ryerson," wrote the *Globe's* special correspondent, "is the very man for the army surgeon. Pleasant in manner, decided in action, and above all skilled in his profession, he allows not the slightest ailment to go unattended to and is constantly among the men, sparing himself not the slightest." In describing the battle of Batoche, the same journal stated: "Dr. Ryerson, at the head of the ambulance corps, was conspicuous by his presence wherever the firing was heaviest and his presence most needed."

Lieut.-Col. Ryerson is possessed of marked executive power and ability for organization. Through his efforts the ambulance corps of the Grenadiers was organized in 1884; he took part in forming the Association of the Medical Officers of the Militia, and was its secretary in 1891. He formed the St. John Ambulance Association in 1894 and became its general secretary; for this service he was promoted to the grade of Esquire of the Order of St. John in 1897 at the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. As a member of the Canadian Jubilee Contingent, he received the commemorative medal from the hands of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

But the Association with which Lieut.-Col. Ryerson's name is most closely connected at present, in the public mind, not only in Canada but also throughout the Empire, is the Red Cross Society of Canada, founded by him in 1896 as a branch of the parent society in Great Britain. Under Dr. Ryerson's guidance the society rendered assistance during the Spanish-American war. At the beginning of the recent war in South Africa, the society, which still was fortunate in possessing Dr. Ryerson as chief executive officer, displayed marvellous activity. It collected a large sum of money, supplied medicines and comforts to many a sick and wounded soldier, British as well as Canadian. Early in this year Dr. Ryerson went out to the seat of war as Canadian Red Cross commissioner. Here there was need for the skilful organizer, the prompt executive officer, the mind to conceive and the hand to dispense comforts to the needy. At Modder River, at Kimberley, at Bloemfontein, at Kroonstadt, the resources of the Red Cross Society were severely tried and Dr. Ryerson was found equal to every emergency. In recognition of his surpassingly successful efforts, he was appointed Red Cross Commissioner with Lord Roberts' Headquarters Staff.

At Kimberley so complete were his arrangements, so unerring his foresight, for the reception of the wounded, that Lord Methuen in a special despatch to the Chief of Staff, speaks of "the fine and unostentatious work performed by the Canadian

Red Cross Society under the guidance of Lieut.-Col. Ryerson M.D.," and in the same despatch bears testimony to his practicality and judgment. In transmitting this despatch to the Secretary of State for War, Lord Roberts adds, " Had it not been for the exertions of the Mayor of Kimberley in providing accommodation, the kindness of the Sisters at the Nazareth Home and the Roman Catholic community, and the energy and zeal of Lieut.-Col. Ryerson, M.D., and the Canadian Red Cross Society, the condition of the sick and wounded would have been very different from what I found it on my visit there last month."

Mr. Chamberlain also joins in the congratulation when forwarding copies of these despatches to Lord Minto, to be sent to the Canadian Red Cross Society.

At a meeting of the Central British Red Cross Committee held on July 24th 1900, a vote of thanks was proposed by Her Royal Highness Princess Christian, seconded by Viscount Knutsford, and unanimously passed to the Canadian Red Cross Society, for generous subscriptions to the funds ; and to Lieut.-Col. Ryerson for valuable services he personally rendered to the British Red Cross Committee, in acting as their Commissioner in Bloemfontein and elsewhere with the headquarters of Lord Roberts' Army.

Those acts of mercy and benevolence so highly appreciated were performed only at the temporary sacrifice of an extensive medical practice.

Dr. Ryerson is a distinguished member of several important Medical Associations, and a member of the Senate of Toronto University.

He was M. L. A. for East Toronto from 1893 to 1898 ; and is an active and enthusiastic member of the Masonic order.

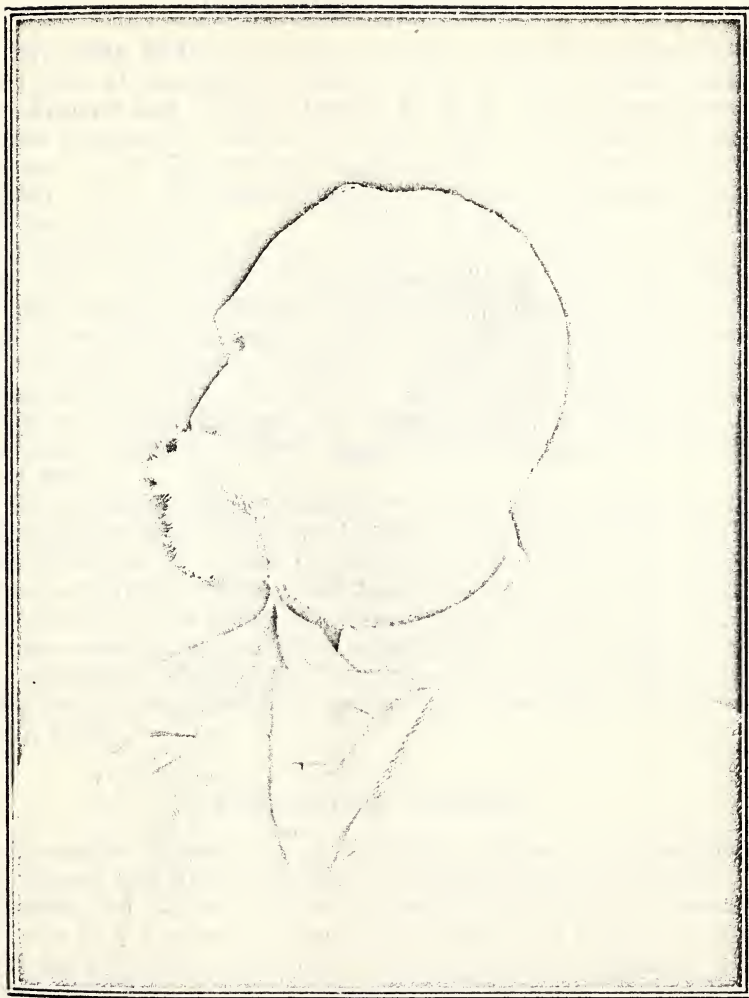
In 1882, Lieut.-Col. Ryerson married Mary Amelia, daughter of the late James Crowther, barrister-at-law, and has issue four sons and a daughter.

HERMAN HENRY COOK.

Herman Henry Cook, third President of the U. E. Loyalists' Association, was born in the Township of Williamsburg, in the County of Dundas, 26th April 1837. He is the youngest son of Capt. George Cook and Sarah Casselman, of U. E. L. descent. His grandfather was John Cook, **U. E. L.**, who with his two sons, George and John, were in arms in defence of Canada in the War of 1812-15, and were present at Crysler's Farm, Nov. 11th 1813, when the largest army that invaded Canada during the war was disastrously beaten and driven across the St. Lawrence. For this engagement Capt. George Cook received the medal and clasp. He was present also at the Battle of the Windmill at Prescott in Nov., 1838. His father was prominent as an extensive lumberman, an occupation that has engaged the attention of his sons. Mr. Cook belongs to a family that has furnished many representatives to the public life of the country. His uncle, John Cook, was the joint representative of the County of Dundas, from 1830 to 1845. His brother John William was M.P. for the same County from 1858 to 1861, and his brother Simon Sephrenus was M. L. A. from 1867 to 1875.

Mr. Cook was educated at the Matilda County Grammar School, and in 1858 became engaged in the lumber business. He secured extensive tracts of forest in the Georgian Bay region, and erected at Midland city, the largest and best equipped saw mill then in Canada. Mr. Cook is now President of the Ontario Lumber Company. Like his brothers and uncle, Mr. Cook has taken an active interest in the political affairs of the country. He was M.P. for North Simcoe from 1872 to 1878, M. L. A. from 1880 to 1882, then resigning, was elected M. P. for East Simcoe which he continued to represent till 1891.

In 1861 he married Lydia, daughter of James White, and has issue (1) Sarah Alberta married to Frank E. MacDonald of Toronto and (2) Emma May married to Surgeon-Major Worthington of Sherbrooke, now in South Africa with the second contingent.



HERMAN HENRY COOK.

President, March, 1898—March, 1900.

Obituary.

MRS. JOHN McDONALD.

Mrs. John McDonald, born in 1807 in the Township of Burford, died at Gananoque April 8th, 1900, was the granddaughter of Abraham and Abigail Dayton, **U. E. L.** Mrs. Dayton afterwards became the wife of Col. Joel Stone, the founder of Gananoque. (For full description of Col. Stone see TRANSACTIONS for 1899.) Mrs. McDonald's maiden name was Henrietta Maria Mallory, daughter of Mallory, **U. E. L.** She was married to John McDonald in 1830, and had issue (1) Frances Georgina, died 1899; (2) Herbert Stone McDonald, born Feb. 23rd, 1842, County Judge of Leeds and Grenville; (3) Emma, married Rev. John Bower Mowat, (brother of Sir Oliver Mowat, Lieut.-Governor of Ontario), Professor of Hebrew, Chaldee and Old Testament Exegesis at Queen's University, Kingston, who died recently, their son being Herbert M. Mowat, Q.C., of Toronto; (4) Adelaide, married in 1867 James O'Neil Ireland, of Toronto, died 1880.

The husband of Mrs. McDonald, Hon. John McDonald was appointed to the Legislative Council of Upper Canada in 1837, and subsequently to the Legislative Council of the Province of Canada in 1842. During the troublous times of 1837-38 Mr. McDonald put his spacious mansion at the service of the soldiers of his sovereign, and in many ways aided in the suppression of the rebellion. He died at Gananoque in September 1860, in his 74th year, having been born at Saratoga, New York, on February 10th, 1787.

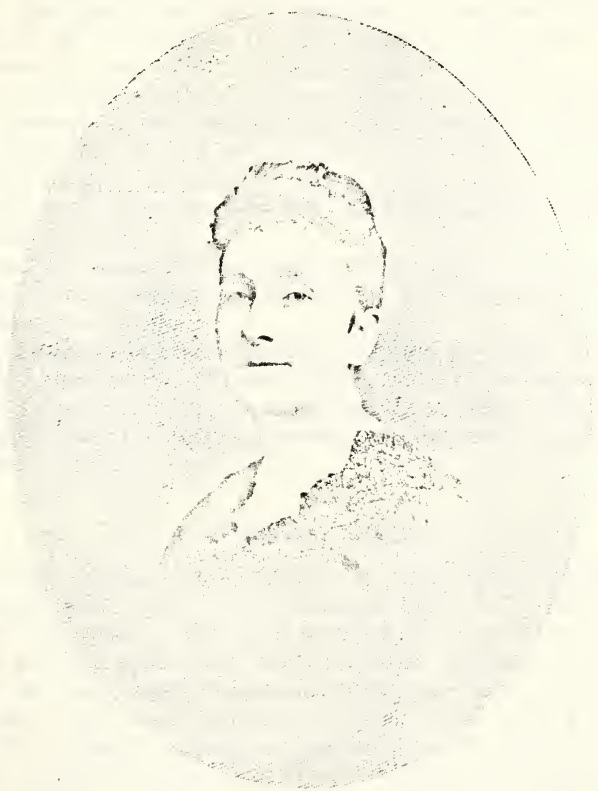
ALEXANDER FRASER.

Alexander Fraser, son of Archibald Fraser, of Fraserfield, Glengarry, and Mary, daughter of William James Scott, M.D., of Prescott, the father of Hon. Richard William Scott, Secretary of State in the present Cabinet of Canada, was born at Fraserfield in November, 1858, and died in Toronto, February 8th, 1900. Mr. Fraser was educated at Williamstown High School, and was some time in the civil service of the Dominion at Ottawa.

The grandfather of Alexander Fraser was Col. The Hon. Alexander Fraser, who served in war of 1812 as Quartermaster Canadian Fencible Regiment. He was in command of 1st Regiment of Glengarry Militia in 1838 and 1839; was M.L.A. 1829 to 1835, and afterwards member of Legislative Council; was Warden of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry from 1842 to 1850.

MRS. CLARKSON.

Mrs. Margaret Isabella Maule Clarkson, Honorary Assistant Secretary of the Association from its formation until her death, and whose efficient services in that capacity have contributed in great measure to the success of the Association, was the daughter of Mr. Stephen Maule Jarvis, Barrister-at-law, of Toronto, granddaughter of Mr. Frederick Starr Jarvis, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, and great-granddaughter of Col. Stephen Jarvis, **U. E. L.**, of Danbury, Connecticut, who served in the Royalist Army throughout the American Revolutionary War, after which, escaping through many perils, he settled at Fredericton, New Brunswick, but removed in 1809 to York (Toronto), Upper Canada, where he was Registrar of Deeds, Adjutant-General of Militia, and Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod in the Legislative Assembly. Mrs. Clarkson was married 3rd December, 1873, to Mr. Benjamin Read Clarkson, a shipping merchant, of Toronto, and sometime of Duluth, Minnesota, son of Mr. Thomas Clarkson, who came to Canada from Susworth, County of Lincoln, England. Mrs. Clarkson, who had been for some time a widow, died February 27th 1900, leaving surviving her one son, Cyril Jarvis Clarkson, and two daughters, Nina Mary and Hilda Stuart Clarkson.



MRS. CLARKSON.

EDMUND MORRIS.

Edmund Morris, born June 1st, 1833, and died December 17th 1899, held a prominent position in connection with the Ontario Bank.

His family has been quite a prominent one in Canada. His father was James Morris (1798-1865) of Brockville, M.L.A. for Leeds 1837; M.P.P. 1841; Member of the Legislative Council 1844; the first Postmaster General of Canada 1851 to 1853; Speaker of Legislative Council 1853-4, and again in 1858; Receiver-General 1862; and Lieut.-Col. of Militia.

The Honourable Col. William Morris, (1786-1858) an uncle, was present at the taking of Ogdensburg, commanded the Lanark Militia 1837-8, was M.L.A. 1821 to 1836, then appointed Member of the Legislative Council, Member of the Executive Council and Receiver-General 1844-46, and President of the Council 1846-48.

Hon. Alexander Morris (1826-1889), Chief Justice and afterwards Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, was a cousin of Edmund Morris.

Mr. Edmund Morris married Catherine Anne, daughter of James Lancaster Schofield of Brockville, son of James Schofield, **U. E. L.**, and had several sons and daughters. One son, Capt. Edmund Merritt Morris, Devonshire Regiment, is now serving in South Africa.

THOMAS HILLS.

Thomas Hills, son of Benjamin Hills and Johanna Anne (Clowes) Hills, was born November 17th, 1856, and died February 11th, 1900. Mr. Hills was grandson of Joseph Anderson, **U. E. L.**, born 1763, died 1853, a Lieut. in King's Royal Regiment of New York; Registrar Surrogate Court 1800 to 1811; Col. 2nd Regiment Stormont Militia, and served in War of 1812-15. Joseph Anderson married Johanna Farrand and had issue (1) Robert Isaac Dey Gray; (2) Anne Margaret, married James Pringle, their son being Jacob Farrand Pringle, sometime County Judge of the United Counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry; (3) Delia Eliza married James Clowes and had issue (1) Samuel Joseph, (2) Johanna Anne (Mrs. Hills), (3) Mary Elizabeth.

Joseph Anderson was the eldest son of Capt. Samuel Anderson, **U. E. L.**, sometime judge of the Eastern District, more fully noticed in the TRANSACTIONS of 1899.

JOHN HILLS.

John Hills, son of the preceding, was born July 31st, 1887, died June 5th, 1900.

ALAN S. BURRITT.

Alan S. Burritt, third son of Horatio C. Burritt, M.D., was born in 1872, and died of enteric fever at Kimberley, South Africa, 4th April, 1900, while serving as lieutenant in the 12th Lancers. Alan S. Burritt served five years in the Northwest Mounted Police, took a course at Stanley Barracks, Toronto, and was appointed a lieutenant in the Prince of Wales Dragoons of Peterborough. Being disappointed at not getting a commission in the Royal Canadian Dragoons he sailed for England, enlisted in the 12th Lancers, where his worth was quickly recognized and rewarded with a commission. His regiment was in Gen. French's division when that division made its famous dash for the relief of Kimberley.

Alan S. Burritt inherited his predilection for the life of a soldier. His great-grandfather was Daniel Burritt, **U. E. L.**, (cousin of Elihu Burritt, "the learned blacksmith,") who, too young to bear arms in the revolutionary war, came to Augusta with his father and brothers after the peace. Daniel Burritt's two elder brothers, Stephen and Adoniram, fought on the Royalist side at the Battle of Bennington, and afterwards went to their home where they were arrested and imprisoned in Bennington gaol by the rebels. It so happened that their guard was a soldier who was shown some kindness by the brothers when badly wounded after the Battle of Bennington. A scheme was devised for their escape which was successful. Stephen then joined Rogers' King's Rangers and served till the end of the war. He was the founder of Burritt's Rapids; was elected to the fifth Parliament of Upper Canada in 1809; was J. P., and Lieut.-Col. of the Grenville Militia.

Read Burritt, another member of the family, was elected to represent Grenville in the Parliament of United Canada in 1848.

JOHN JUCHEREAU KINGSMILL.

John Juchereau Kingsmill, M.A., D.C.L., sometime County Judge of the County of Bruce, was born in the city of Quebec, May 21st, 1829, and died 21st February, 1900.

His father was Col. William Kingsmill, of H.M. 66th Regt., who came to Canada in 1829, and was for many years sheriff of Lincoln.

Judge Kingsmill was educated at Upper Canada College, University of Toronto, (B.A.) and Trinity University (M.A. and D.C.L.) He practised law at Guelph from 1853 to Nov. 1866, when he was appointed Judge. He resigned the judgeship in 1893, and took up the practice of law in Toronto, and was appointed a Q.C.

He was four times married, his last wife being Agnes Caroline Grace, daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. Bernard of the 13th Hussars, and granddaughter of the late Samuel Peters Jarvis of Toronto. His eldest son is an officer in the Royal Navy.

Historical and Biographical Sketches.

Samuel Strong and the Georgia Loyalists.

BY EMILIA F. S., LADY DILKE, LONDON, ENGLAND.

When Mrs. Clarkson asked me for details of the story of my grandfather's connection with the American Revolutionary War, I felt inclined to say, "Story, indeed, there is none to tell!" And in a sense, this must be true, for the record of a "Refugee family" seeking English shores, though it may have meant much personal suffering and loss of fortune, can have none of the heroic features which attract us to the annals of the Canadian U.E.L.'s, who, having lost all but their lives, secured to the British Crown one of its most magnificent possessions. At the same time, there is so little known concerning the Loyalists of the Southern States, as compared with those who played a more active part in the north, and so little attention has been paid to the situation of those who became "Refugees" that even the outline of one family history may have something of historical interest as illustrating an obscure phase of the great struggle.

It is surprising to find how meagre are the records of the "Tories" of Georgia, if we remember that it was a highly loyal state and had actually been recovered out of the hands of the insurgents, in 1779, by the exertions of that able governor, Sir James Wright, whose return from England rallied the Loyalists and inspired the brilliant defence of Savannah against the united and superior forces of the "Whigs," under General Lincoln, and the French, under Count d'Estaing. From the pages of Sabine, we can make a list of most of the officers of the regiment of Georgia Loyalists. He names Habersham, who was acting-governor during Sir James Wright's absence in 1771, Anthony Stokes, the Chief-Justice; John Hume, the Attorney-General, and two of the agents,—Knox and Graham, who, in 1785, were in London, engaged in pressing claims for compensation, on behalf of those whom the British Government had abandoned with culpable indifference to their fate. Of the great band of sufferers, cruelly affected by this desertion, which included many, who like my grandfather and his brother were men of means and standing in their State, none are mentioned by Sabine, save George Thompson, James Ed. Powell, Joseph Hume and William McGillivray, who were all in England in 1779.

The little that I know of these things was gleaned from talk

with my father, Captain Henry Strong, (1794-1876) who was born, I believe in England, and who was, as the Family Bible tells us, the youngest of the eleven children of Samuel Strong, of Augusta, Georgia, by his wife Sarah Earle Hartridge, widow of John Hartridge, whom he married in 1777. Samuel Strong, or Samuel Spry Strong—as he is called by his descendants now in Georgia, according to their custom of prefixing the mother's surname to that of the father—was the youngest of three brothers. Richard, the eldest was, it is said, in the Royal Navy, but the proud tradition, which lingers in Augusta, that he commanded a vessel under Nelson is certainly untrue, although two chalices, looted by him from a Spanish man-of-war, bear witness to successful prize-taking at sea, and have suggested the conjecture that he may have held a letter of marque, for the British government commissioned privateers during the war. Thomas, the second son, (1745-1811) and my grandfather, Samuel, (1749-1834) began life as land-surveyors, an occupation then followed by many wealthy men in the States, as, for example, George William Fairfax, who was the early companion of Washington and his associate as a surveyor of lands.

"I never saw my grandfather, who died before I was born, at the age of eighty-six, but my father learned from him that a branch of his family, said to be of Scotch-Irish extraction, having got into some political trouble and being attainted for treason, had "immigrated" and settled in Massachusetts at some time shortly after the voyage of the Mayflower. This would tally precisely with the period of the active immigration—1629-1640—and he added that "we had the blood of some of the first settlers in our veins." In this connection the name of "Ingersoll" was mentioned, but though we find that Jeddediah Strong, jun., of Northampton, Massachusetts, married Abiah Ingersoll, daughter of John Ingersoll, the settler in 1688, we have, hitherto, failed to establish the connection. Others of the family, said my father, had remained in England, but came out to Virginia after the Jacobite rising of 1715 or 1745, in which they had been compromised, but, as far as I can recollect, not these, but the Stronges of the Massachusetts branch were said to be his direct ancestors.

When the Revolutionary War broke out, Samuel Strong held an appointment as Deputy-surveyor-general to the Crown under the Royal Surveyor-general, Major Samuel Holland. He was not only an important public official, but had a large property at Augusta and a Crown grant, on which, my father said, a portion of the city of Savannah stands, and the memory of his connection with the place is still preserved in the name of a point on the river called "Strong's Bluff." With the assistance of his brother Thomas, Samuel Strong had completed the survey of South Carolina and Virginia before the troubles began and, in the execu-

tion of the last work, had necessarily been brought into contact with the two Fairfax families whose vast property lay between Potomac and the Rappahannock in that State. They were represented by Thomas, the sixth baron, who, leaving his English estates, had settled in Virginia and was then living at Greenway Court, and by the sons of his cousin (Colonel William Fairfax) George William Fairfax of Belvoir, and Bryan or Brian Fairfax of Towleston Hall, both intimate friends of George Washington. The acquaintance with them, which my grandfather's work in the survey of Virginia procured him, seems not to have been without a certain influence on his later fortunes.

There is evidence of disturbed feeling in Georgia as early as 1771, when Habersham showed his anxiety, during Sir James Wright's absence, as to the pressure exercised from South Carolina, by writing that "the fiery patriots in Charleston have stopped all dealings with us."* The Whig propaganda then begun was steadily pressed, and though Georgia sent no representatives to the Congress of 1774, Sir James Wright, in a letter written by him to Lord Dartmouth in December of that year, says, "Since the Carolina deputies have returned from the Continental Congress, as they call it, every means have been used to raise a flame again in this province."

As Crown officials my grandfather and great-uncle found themselves early marked out for hostility from the "Whigs." They were, as in duty bound, open and avowed Loyalists, and suffered greatly in consequence. My grandfather, whose loyalty involved, at the least, a very heavy loss of fortune, when the result of the struggle was no longer doubtful, abandoned the country and found his way to England. He was then married and had several children; indeed it is by the entry of the christening of his daughter Sophia, in the register of the parish church of St. George's, Hanover Square, for the year 1786, that we are able to fix with certainty on his presence and that of his family in London, where the various classes of refugees, many of whom had left America in the early days of the war, formed a numerous body which swelled to formidable proportions by the emigration which followed on the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis. My father told me that my grandfather, though speaking with the most bitter hatred of the "Whigs" and showing a certain reluctance to dwell on his personal experiences, never complained of having endured any maltreatment at their hands, but as to his uncle Thomas, he added that "the mere mention of America was enough to rouse the old man to fury."

This was explained by the fact that he had suffered not only in fortune but had been subjected to much personal indignity. He was, justly, suspected of the authorship of a pamphlet or

*For this and following quotation see Sabine, p. 340 and p. 726.

pamphlets written on the government side, and he could not escape the consequences of the special enmity which he had thus provoked. "Some of them," said my grandfather, "caught him towards the last and they tarred and feathered him. He was lucky to get off with his skin." My impression is that these occurrences, which were alluded to with a certain air of mystery and horror, did not take place in Georgia, but in the neighborhood of Charleston. That is, however, only a vague impression, the words, which I recall distinctly, were varied sometimes by an added detail as "tarred and feathered and ridden on a rail." I do not think any one was proud of the circumstance. It was resented as a personal disgrace.

The law of Georgia, passed towards the end of the struggle, declared certain persons, as for instance, Sir James Wright, to have been guilty of treason against the State and their property to be forfeited for their offences. The Loyalists were, as I have said, left to their fate, for although in 1799 the loyal inhabitants had been required by proclamation to return to their settlements, when orders came in 1782 to deliver the country up to the rebels, this was done without any stipulation in their favor. Thirty years were, however, allowed after 1783 for the taking up of royal grants, but there was little encouragement to do so given, as a rule, to "Tory" owners. I have never seen any full account of the sufferings of these unfortunate people in the Southern States, but I am inclined to think, from my father's repetition of my grandfather's talk, that they must have been, at any rate in individual cases, as severe as anything that overtook the Loyalists of the north. Samuel Strong, for one, steadily refused to return to America, in spite of urgent appeals from others, and though he often lamented the loss which he thereby incurred of a great fortune.

His situation as a refugee seems, however, to have been marked by exceptional features, which on a far larger scale, are repeated in the history of the famous family of Fairfax. As far as we can gather, though for a moment Samuel Strong may have been in some straits, he was never in the absolutely destitute condition of many of his fellow-sufferers. His means, if curtailed, were never insufficient, and he was, we now know, actually allowed to return and dispose of a large portion of his property at Augusta, where he owned a large plantation and many slaves. In the eighties, his step-children, Hester, Sarah and John Earle Hartridge went out to Savannah and there, in 1799, they were joined by their half-sister, my aunt Nancy Strong. To her, on her marriage with an Englishman, Thomas Barrett, my grandfather gave his property at Augusta. My cousin, Colonel Barrett, a well-known veteran of the Confederate army, writes, "The Strong's must have been people of means, for the Barrett's present home and the lot on which Aunt

Francis'* home stands was given to grandmother by her father along with a great many negroes."

It is here that I conjecture that the acquaintance with the Fairfax family, and especially with the branch represented by Brian Fairfax, of Loweston, whose half-sister, Anne, was the wife of Washington's eldest brother, may perhaps explain the peculiarly favorable treatment accorded to my grandfather. Brian was actually in London at the date at which it was decided to send Nancy Strong to Savannah. He was pressing his claims for compensation as a Loyalist, as well as his title to the Fairfax Barony and it is a most curious fact that in reckoning up, in a letter to the Earl of Buchan, the means at his disposal for proving his case, he says, "These, with General Washington's second testimony of introduction, will be sufficient to establish my claim without a doubt." In the same letter, after speaking of the share in his Virginian property bequeathed to him by Thomas, Lord Fairfax, in 1782, Brian Fairfax adds that he "had before given me one of his small manors, joining to the estate my father left me, consisting of twelve acres, it being nearly equal to what he had given to his two younger nephews."† The small size of the little property referred to renders it impossible that the writer can have been alluding to the American estate which was reckoned by millions of acres, and it is a curious coincidence that just before Brian, having secured his ends, returned to Virginia, my grandfather went to live on a small property near Leeds Castle in Kent, which was a part of the English estates given by Lord Fairfax to his brother Robert, where—unless, indeed, his wife belonged to the place—he had previously no connection or interest.

There, my father spent his early days and his holidays till he left Addiscombe to join his regiment (3rd Madras N. T.) in India, as a cadet in 1809. From India he did not return till 1825-6, only six years before his father's death, a fact which accounts for the imperfect state of much of our record. His elder brother, Thomas (born 1783) entered the Royal Navy in 1806, became Commander in 1830 and disappears from the Navy List in 1835, his ship having, it was reported, been lost at sea, or the crew mutinied. Like most of the refugees, whose piteous longing for their lost homes is touchingly worded in Curwen's Diary, the family seem to have clung to their old associates and associations. Sabina, the third daughter, became the wife of a man, who, as he was spoken of as "William Shepperson of Charleston" was probably a fellow refugee. The elder girl, Sarah, married a brother of Judge Raincock, a relation of the sometime governor of Pennsyl-

* The letter F in my signature stands for this name, which is not the feminine "Frances" but a family name.

† See "The Fairfax Correspondence." London, 1848.

vania, shortly before her sister Nancy left England (1798) for Georgia. There, in the old settlement, among the pinewoods at Augusta, she kept up a constant correspondence with her sisters, especially with her favorite sister, Sarah Raincock, and with the brother, my father, whom she last saw as a little child of five. Like her half-brother, John Earle Hartridge, her husband, Thomas Barrett, became thoroughly American in feeling and their only son, Thomas Samuel, having married a daughter of the "rebel" General Glascock, their descendants are amongst the best-known members of the "Colonial Dames"—a society which admits to its ranks only those who can trace their descent from an officer serving on the American side in the Revolutionary War. The devotion to lost political causes, which seems to have shown itself again and again in her ancestors, has not failed in the descendants of Nancy Strong. Two of her grandchildren, a Law and a Carter, lost their lives in the war of North and South. Colonel Barrett, the head of the family, served in the Confederate army from the beginning of the war to its end, and one of his brothers was severely wounded while fighting for the same cause.

After the death of Nancy Strong Barrett in 1853, communication between the two branches of the family slackened and finally ceased with the outbreak of the Civil War, but last year, exactly one hundred years since Nancy left England on her way to the old home in Georgia, I went, by appointment, to meet one of her great-grandchildren, my cousin Savannah Barrett Butt, at the Cecil. The great-grandchild of the "Whig" general and the grandchild of the "Tory" refugee joined hands with an instant flash of recognition. "Cousin Emilia," said she, "blood is thicker than water, and we both hate Yanks." I would not quote these words, if I could suppose that anyone would take them more seriously than they were meant, but I quote them because they have a curious significance in relation to past history and seem to sum up vicissitudes of feeling which, once profoundly bitter, are softening so rapidly that they can be treated almost as a joke. Professor Max Müller, trying to make his little son declare himself a German, was met by the apt retort, "What does I speak?" The tie of common speech seems stronger even than the bond of blood, and we may now hope in the light of later days for the final triumph of this tie.

In conclusion, I will only add that the refugee descendants of Samuel Strong are now represented in England by my brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Strong, and by his three sons of whom the eldest, Harry Strong is now taking out troops to the Cape in the Union liner Gaika, of which he is Master, the second is in Kimberley, whilst the third, in charge of the Medical Staff Corps of the South Rhodesian Volunteers, is on his way, with Colonel Houldsworth, to Mafeking.

Sketch of the Teeple Family, 1762—1899.

BY MR. W. B. WATERBURY, ST. THOMAS.

Captain Peter Teeple was born near Trenton, New Jersey, July 14th, 1762. Bordentown is believed to be his birthplace.

His parents came from Holland and settled in New Jersey. He was the youngest son of a well-to-do and fairly numerous family. He had at least three brothers, John, James and George, all of whom were in the Continental Army under George Washington in the War of Independence which raged from 1776 to 1783. About the year 1779 Peter was still living at the old home, and was then in his eighteenth year. Being possessed of a very handsome horse, he kept it carefully hidden from view of the contending armies, rightly fearing it might be confiscated for war purposes. One day, however, whilst leading it to water, he was surprised by the rebel cavalry, and forced to give it up. He afterwards stated that, being at that time unable to speak English, (his family, as stated before, being Hollanders) he was taken at a great disadvantage. The occurrence so angered the boy, who prided himself on the possession of so handsome a horse, that he immediately tied up a bundle of clothing and started on foot for New York, then occupied by the British, which he reached safely, and there joined the British cavalry. Having a good education and being naturally bright and intelligent, he soon acquired a fluent use of the English language; and being of tall and commanding presence, and a good soldier, he rapidly rose to the rank of Captain, and was placed in command of a troop of cavalry, of the "New Jersey Volunteers."

He took part in several notable engagements, and many times had an opportunity to forage for supplies for his troop among the supporters of the rebel army which had deprived him of his beloved steed. On one occasion while he was scouting in Virginia, a bullet from the rifle of an American sharp-shooter killed the charger upon which he was mounted. At the close of the war in 1783, Capt. Teeple's cavalry troop was disbanded at Halifax; and, owing to his fine physique, being six feet four inches in height, he was offered great inducements to proceed with the British army to England and accept a commission in His Majesty's Life Guards. He declined the offer and later expressed misgivings as to the wisdom of his choice. He then left Halifax, proceeding with a large number of other disbanded soldiers and many refugees to New Brunswick, where Loyalist settlements had been established at St. John, and at a place called Waterborough, situated on Grand Lake about 60 miles up the River St. John. From being a captain of horse, he now became

captain of a trading vessel plying between St. John and New York.

At St. John he met, and married, in 1785, Lydia Mabee, one of the five daughters of Frederick Mabee, a prominent Quaker refugee from New York, whose father, Simon, a Hollander, and his mother, Marie Landrine, a French lady, had settled near Sing Sing, in the State of New York. Frederick Mabee was a United Empire Loyalist, whose home had, at the British evacuation of New York, been confiscated, and himself and family subjected to indignity by many of his formerly kind neighbors, because he declined to swear allegiance to the rebel colonies, holding, as he no doubt conscientiously did, that the grievances of the colonists should be settled by constitutional means rather than by the sword.

Having heard of the wonderful fertility and natural advantages of the Long Point, or, as it was first called, the Turkey Point, country in Upper Canada from his cousin Peter Secord, a U. E. Loyalist who had accompanied him to St. John from New York; and who, being an old hunter, had already penetrated the wilds of Upper Canada with one George Ramsay, an Englishman, on a hunting and exploring trip; he resolved to form a small colonization party to open a permanent settlement at Turkey Point. Gathering many of his relatives together including his son-in-law, Capt. Teeple, the "Mabee party," as they were afterwards called, set out in the fall of 1792, but they wintered at Quebec, and did not reach Turkey Point until some time in 1793.

They brought some household goods, drove several cows, rode horses, and employed an Indian guide to pilot the way through the wilderness. The men drove the animals along the shore, the women came in the boats, going ashore at night to camp. During the journey through the wilds they sustained themselves largely on cornmeal, and milk from the cows. The party consisted of Frederick Mabee and wife Lavinia, (nee Pellum or Pelham); Oliver Mabee, their eldest son, aged about nineteen; Simon, aged seventeen; Pellum, the youngest son, aged about five years; three single daughters, Polly, Betsy and Sally; and two married daughters, Nancy with her husband, John Stone, and Lydia, with her husband, Capt. Peter Teeple and their three children. His cousin, Peter Secord, and Thomas Walsh, also came with the "Mabee party."

Frederick Mabee at once erected the first log cabin built at the new settlement, at the foot of the hill overlooking Turkey Point. Their corn was pounded in the stump of a walnut tree, the pestle being attached to a "sweep" like the "Old Oaken Bucket."

One year after the arrival of the party he died of apoplexy, and was buried in a hollowed-out walnut log coffin. He was the first white man buried in the new settlement, and a large

boulder marks his tomb near Turkey Point. His widow subsequently married Lieut. Wm. B. Hilton, a New York Loyalist of the "King's American Dragoons," but he died three years after the marriage. Large numbers of other Loyalists poured into the settlement shortly after, but the "Mabee party" came in advance of the rest, and became "squatters" until the lands were apportioned by the Crown to all the Loyalists. Polly and Sally Mabee, two daughters who came to Turkey Point single, married respectively Capt. David Secord, and Silas Montross, U. E. Loyalists. The former was a miller at Niagara; the latter lived at Turkey Point. The Mabee, Teeple, Secord, Montross and Stone families became prominent factors in the early days of the settlement, and now their descendants are very widely scattered.

More than a hundred years have come and gone since Frederick Mabee and his sons and son-in-law made the acquaintance of the wild, painted and befeathered savages of the north shore of Lake Erie; and where they were surprised and startled by the bedlam of discordant sounds, which daily rent the air, from the throats of the myriads of wild turkeys, geese and ducks as these sturdy pioneers staked out their new homes at Turkey Point. To-day their great-grandsons are found in the ranks of busy men, scattered all over the American continent, and their great-great-grandchildren occupy seats in nearly every schoolhouse in the land. In fact, these descendants have become so numerous, and so widely dispersed that they meet as strangers, never dreaming that the old pioneer mother who pounded corn in the hollow of a walnut stump on Turkey Point more than a hundred years ago, was their common maternal ancestor.

Capt. Peter Teeple and his brothers-in-law, Capt. David Secord and John Stone were the first young married men that settled in Charlotteville, as Turkey Point afterwards came to be officially named, and when the settlement was surveyed Peter Teeple was granted lot 8 in the broken front, near Forestville. His wife Lydia also was granted 106 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres by the Crown, being part of lot 9, lake front, Charlotteville. Near by still stands to-day an old tree known as the "Aunt Lydia apple-tree," which yet bears fruit. It was the favorite apple of Lydia Teeple. There are trees in this orchard one hundred years old; and near the old house is still standing a walnut tree which must be very ancient indeed; it measures nearly twelve feet in circumference and four feet in diameter. It is an interesting relic in itself with its immense spread of branches.

Peter Teeple was one of the first justices appointed, having that honour conferred upon him by virtue of the first general commission of the peace for the newly-organised "District of London," dated at York, now City of Toronto, January 1st, 1800. He was also one of the original three appointed at the same time, to act as Commissioners for administering oaths prescribed by

law to the officers of the Government of Upper Canada. On the 2nd day of April following, he was sworn into office at the house of Lieut. James Munroe at Turkey Point, which house is still standing (January, 1899) and is now known as "Fort Munroe." On 8th April, 1800, the first session of the first court held in that vast new "District of London" was convened at Fort Munroe, and Squire Teeple was one of the sitting Justices. His position then was about equivalent to that of a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas now, and he came to be regarded as a thorough jurist. He left a very large law library, and a complete register of the hundreds of civil marriages he performed.

An amusing incident was related by Pellum, his youngest son, in connection with one marriage ceremony Squire Teeple performed about 1825. The law or custom of that place required that where no regular license had been procured, the ceremony might be performed at some public cross-roads, at the hour of midnight, the contracting parties appearing in their nightclothes, the justice and one or two others acting as witnesses. In company with his son Pellum, the Squire repaired to the spot, a lonely cross-road, on a very dark night. Presently two groups approached from opposite directions, one with the bride, the other with the groom. Upon meeting, the two principals clad in white robes stepped forward, and at the hour of twelve, they were duly married according to law. Pellum, then a young man of sixteen, said it made a lasting and weird impression on his memory.

But few years had elapsed after the Squire, as he was then called by virtue of his legal office, settled at Turkey Point, when the War of 1812-1815 broke out. He had attained a goodly degree of prosperity, and he and his sons donned their swords to defend their newly-made homes. The settlers formed volunteer companies; and in recognition of his previous military rank and experience he was chosen a Captain of Militia, being then about 50 years of age. With his command he met the invading American troops at Queenston Heights and Lundy's Lane. His valuable flour mill was burned during this war by a party of American scouts.

Squire Teeple and his wife were two of the constituent members of the old pioneer Baptist church organized at Vittoria by Elder Titus Finch in 1804; and when the acre of land was purchased for £2.10.0., "New York Currency," from Deacon Oliver Mabee in 1807 upon which to erect a "meeting house," Mr. Teeple became one of the first trustees, the other being one Lawrence Johnson. The church was a commodious edifice for those times, and superseded the old log structure; and it was furnished with a three-sided gallery. The young people who used to attend the singing schools in that old meeting house have long since passed away, but they were full of rugged piety and simple faith.

In January, 1851, a new church was built near the same site, and among the records of the members of the construction committee, we find the now locally historic names of Mabce, Teeple, Young and Ryerse, sons of the original pioneers.

A few years before his death in 1847 a pen-and-ink portrait of the Squire was obtained under peculiar circumstances. There came into that community (Centreville, Oxford Co., Ont.) a quadroon, who had been a slave in the United States, and who had a talent for drawing, which his mistress allowed him to cultivate, and even procured for him some instruction in the art. The Squire's son, Pellum Cartwright Teeple, learning this, brought the escaped slave home one day, and got him to execute a portrait of his father. It was drawn upon the fly-leaf of a book, and he was portrayed sitting with Pellum's child, Charles, an infant, on his lap. The original is still in the possession of the grandson, Charles, who lives at Marengo, Illinois, and the writer is happily possessed of a photographic copy. The drawing is quaint, but well executed, and is said by those who remember the old Squire to be a faithful likeness, the only exception taken being that the chin is too pointed. He continued to reside not far from Long Point (Centreville, Oxford Co.) during the remaining years of his life, and was finally laid to rest in the old Baptist cemetery near there, by his son Pellum.

He was methodical, dignified in bearing, of a commanding aspect, a strong advocate of temperance, and was erect and soldierly to the last.

His wife Lydia was a very worthy woman, and they both lived long, she dying in 1845 at the age of 75, and he in 1847, aged 85. It is related of her that whenever she lost her temper and spoke sharply to anyone, she would soon after be found alone, pacing to and fro with clasped hands murmuring to herself for a time, "Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy!"

Squire Teeple had thirteen children, of whom nine were sons, namely, William Bullard, Luke, Edward Manning, Frederick, Stephen Henry, Oliver Mabce, Lemuel Covell, Simon Peter, and Pellum Cartwright; and four daughters, namely, Louvina, Susannah, Mary and Phebe. Some of these children met with stirring adventures during the War of 1812-15, and the Canadian Rebellion of 1837. A few details of these will be given here as follows:—

William B., the eldest son, was born 18th January, 1788, and was, like his father, an enormously big man and a Captain of Provincial Militia at the Battle of Lundy's Lane. At the latter engagement he had, as an orderly, a French Canadian of rather small stature who used to say to his towering commanding officer, "Capt. Teeple, you are a very big man, and when the fighting gets hot, I am going to get behind you." In actual warfare,

however, the little French Canadian exposed himself so fearlessly that he was mortally wounded early in the battle. A portion of the scarlet uniform worn by Capt. W. B. Teeple in that engagement made up in the form of the quaint "knitting sheaths" of the period, is still in the possession of the writer, one of his grandsons. On the 4th January, 1818, he was married to Jemima Leek at Malahide by Mahlon Burwell, J.P., and soon after settled on 200 acres of land being Lot 1, Con. 8, in the Township of Malahide, County of Egin, the land being a grant from the Crown for military services rendered. He died on the 8th April, 1857, leaving a goodly estate. His children in order of birth were Jared Topping, Susan Celestia, James Jackson, Symantha J., Temperance Ursula, Lydia Ann, Stephen William, and Sarah. Of these, Lydia Ann was married to James P. Waterbury, also of U. E. L. descent, on the 22nd of June, 1852, by Rev. Caleb Burdick at Malahide. At this date, (1899) she resides at Cambridgeport, Mass., and is the mother of the writer of these annals.

Luke Teeple, second son of Capt. Peter Teeple, born 12th Sept., 1791, went to New Jersey on a visit to an uncle just before the War of 1812 broke out, and he was ordered to take the oath of allegiance or quit the country. His uncle had a mail route from New York to some point in New Jersey, believed to be Bordentown, and he put young Luke on this route, thinking that while thus employed he would not be molested. He was arrested, however, in the following February, and cast into prison with about a hundred other British sympathizers. These Loyalist political prisoners were sorely tempted to desert their first love and join the American forces. One by one they weakened until only fifteen remained, Luke being one of the faithful few. At the close of the war they were liberated, and the uncle, although a patriotic American, gave Luke a present in token of admiration of his pluck and endurance. When he returned to Canada he, on the 26th of December, 1816, married Nancy, second daughter of Elder Titus Finch, already referred to, and settled at Vittoria, near Simcoe, purchasing the two-storey frame house built by Caleb Wood, (also a "Jerseyite" Loyalist, as the New Jersey refugees were called in those days,) and which house still stands, dark and windowless, and vacant, in front of the Baptist burying ground, fit companion to the weather-beaten, mossy old gravestones which mark the back-ground. On the flat opposite this house he built a tannery which was operated by his son Alexander after his death in 1849.

He had seven sons—Alexander, Jerome, Albert Gallatin, Thermos, Lysander, Titus Ridley, and Peter Latimer; and four daughters—Mabro, Mobra, Clementine, and Almira. Alexander was accidentally crushed to death in 1867 while excavating a large boulder on his property.

Pellum Cartwright (originally spelt Pelham) thirteenth and youngest child, and ninth son of Peter Teeple, was born 28th November, 1809, and was a participator in the Upper Canadian Rebellion of 1837, or "The Patriot War," as it was then often called. He was the leader of a band of young Canadians opposed to the methods of ruling the country at that time prevailing, claiming that those high in authority ignored the statutes passed by the parliamentary representatives of the people and frustrated their will; and when it was determined to fight, he was chosen a captain; but on the flight to the United States of the two principal leaders, William Lyon Mackenzie and Hon. John Rolph, all those who had been leaders under them, were compelled to follow them into exile or forfeit their lives.

Pellum, on attempting to flee, fell in with a party of soldiers who made him their prisoner. The story of his capture and escape is thus told by his nephew, Luke, son of Simon Peter Teeple, who heard it from his own lips:—"The price set upon his head by the Canadian Government was '\$600, dead or alive.' He was determined to leave Canada, and was then on his way to the western frontier line. He was riding a horse and had reached a point some seven or eight miles westerly from London, Ont., on the road leading from that city along the southern side of the of the River Thames. His brother, Edward Manning Teeple, lived on this road some two or three miles from London, and he was making for his house. On turning a bend in the road he came in full view of a sergeant and six men advancing towards him. He could neither retreat nor conceal himself, so he rode steadily on and met them. The sergeant halted and plied him with questions; as his answers were unsatisfactory, he was taken in charge, faced about and obliged to go with them towards London. They dismounted him, and the sergeant rode his horse. Plodding along for some time, darkness overtook them before they reached the city. They stopped at a tavern and the soldiers ordered a meal, which was at once prepared. They then asked him to come and eat with them, but he assured them he was not hungry, and they left their arms in the bar-room and went into the next room and sat down to eat.

"He also went with them into the same room, and asked the waitress for a drink of water. He was on the side of the table next to the outside door, and as the girl gave him the drink of water she flung this door wide open. In an instant he was through it and running for the woods. The men sprang for their arms, and came rushing out, firing after him. He could hear the orders given to surround the cluster of tavern buildings, and see lights moving, but he made good his escape into the adjoining forest. There was snow on the ground and running was difficult, yet for fear of being overtaken, he kept it up until almost exhausted. Taking what he supposed to be a course

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between the public road and the river, he at length came upon the latter, but he did not know whether above or below his starting point. Going down to the water, which was frozen over, he followed along until he espied an airhole, into this he threw a stick to see which way the water ran, then going down the stream he finally came upon a house. By this time he was excessively fatigued, and very, very hungry from his long fast. He went up and knocked at the door and a man appeared and began talking with him. He had no means of ascertaining whether this man was a 'patriot' or not, so he feigned himself an urgent despatch bearer of important official papers which must be delivered in London with utmost haste. He said he had given out in travelling and insisted upon the man's acceptance of, and conveyance of them to London forthwith, as he was utterly unable to go on himself. The man demurred, so, after an earnest discussion Pellum said, 'Well, if I could rest a few minutes and get some food to eat, I might possibly try to go on.' He then heard the man's wife getting up, and she protested that her husband could not go, but said she would get Pellum something to eat at once, which she did. While eating he became satisfied that they were 'patriots,' and revealed his true position. The man then said they could not keep him there, but that they would see that he was hidden and fed at a neighbor's over the hill. Pellum went with him to the neighbor's and was concealed there for a time. If there was any likelihood of capture one of children at the first house was to come over the hill and notify him. He was alarmed one day by seeing one of the children coming, running over the hill, but it proved to be only a neighborly call. After a few days had passed, and he thought search for him had ceased, he worked his way through the woods at night up to his brother Edward's and soon after went in the same way to the home of his sister Mary, wife of Andrus Davis, at Orwell, Ont. Several weeks were spent in this hazardous trip."

"Mary and Andrus Davis were known to be staunch loyalists, and there is no account of any attempt to search for him at their place. There he was supplied with food for a short time, but the danger of recapture was so great that he did not remain all the time in the house but kept concealed sometimes in the woods. Still fearing arrest and execution, as some of his 'compatriots' had thus suffered, his sister, Mary Davis, nephew James Teeple, and sister-in-law, Jemima Teeple, conducted him secretly in the dead of winter by sleigh from Orwell to the Niagara frontier, and his relative, Rev. Samuel Rose, of Lundy's Lane, though a political opponent of the 'patriots,' espoused his cause for family reasons only, and under pretense of being the employer of Pellum sent him on a 'message,' to friends in New York State, and at once hired a man to row him across at some point below the Falls."

"He Pellum, grew very intense when relating this part of the

narrative and declared that had anyone ordered the boatman back to the Canadian shore he would have thrown the man overboard and made the attempt to reach the American shore alone. But no difficulty arose; he was safely landed in New York State, and waving a parting adieu to his relatives, who sat in their conveyance and witnessed his crossing, he began his career in the United States."

We next hear of Pellum journeying down the Ohio River with a party intending to go to Texas, but becoming dissatisfied with the roistering habits of his companions, he left them and struck across the country to a place called Pekin, on the Illinois river. From there he eventually went to the city of Rockford, Ill., where on the 28th of March, 1841, he married Mary A. Gleason.

His father and mother were now so old they were desirous he should come home to Canada and care for them the rest of their days; but although he there expressed sentiments of loyalty, he would not do this until a special amnesty was sent him by the Canadian Government for his part in the "Patriot War." This was obtained and forwarded to him, and he journeyed to the old home in Oxford County, accompanied by his wife, his son Charles, and Luke Teeple, (son of Simon Peter Teeple,) who lived with them, in a two horse buggy, there being no railroads, and remained there till the two old pioneers were laid away in the churchyard. Later he returned to Illinois and settled at Marengo, where he died on the 12th of December, 1878, and where his son Charles, above referred to, still resides. Pellum Teeple left six sons, viz.: Charles Gleason, Addison Venelle, Levant, Jared, Lester and Frank; and four daughters, Elmina, Elvira, Ruth L. and Lydia Mary.

Of the other descendants of Frederick Mabee and Peter Teeple little or nothing of special note is known to the present writer, except the dates of their birth and death, and that Oliver Mabee Teeple was also a Captain at Lundy's Lane; but it is hoped that the survivors, should they read these lines, will as speedily as possible contribute their quota to these annals before it is too late; and above all, that they will prove worthy successors of those sturdy "Pilgrim Fathers of Canada" who, for the sake of what they believed, rightly or wrongly, to be their duty, were willing to undertake, not only the perils of war, but also the hardships and privations of hewing out for themselves, and for their children, in the wild forests of Turkey Point, new homes and habitations, destined after one hundred years to become an important part of a great and mighty state.

Birthplace and Antecedents of Major Thomas Merritt, United Empire Loyalist.

BY MISS CATHERINE NINA MERRITT, TORONTO.

The name of Merritt, like most other names, has suffered change in its transmission down several centuries. It has been established without a doubt, that the name was originally "de Meriet," a proof of which is in the fact that a deed of land, being a moiety of the manor of Sellindge in Kent, was given, in the reign of Edward III, to one John Merrett, who was the son of Eleanor de Beauchamp of Hacche, in Somerset, and John de Meriet (Hist. of Kent). Elsewhere the same person is mentioned as "John de Meriet," son of John de Meriet and Eleanor de Beauchamp. The first mention of the name is in the reign of William the Conqueror, when Eadnoth, a Saxon, was given the manor of Meriet in Somerset, from whence he took his name.

In America, the name is found several times about the middle of the seventeenth century, one of these being Thomas Merritt, who appears in Rye, Westchester county, in 1673, according to the History of Rye, by Chas. W. Baird. John Merritt is also mentioned in 1678 and is supposed to have been a younger brother; but this is of no great consequence to us, as our interest is hereafter centred in Thomas, whom I shall distinguish from the four Thomases that follow as

Thomas I.—He was born in 1650, where, I cannot say or conjecture. He does not appear to have been among the first settlers of Rye. Thomas (called Senior in 1698) married, perhaps for his second wife, Abigail, youngest daughter of Robert Francis, of Weathersfield, Conn. She was born, says Mr. Savage, in 1656. An indenture, regarding the disposition of his property after death, Oct. 20th, 1688, assigns to his wife the use of his house, etc., which is to descend to his eldest son. He lived nearly opposite the spot in Rye where the Park Institute now stands. In 1690 Thomas Merritt was one of eighteen chief proprietors of Rye, and evidently a public-spirited member of the little community. In February, 1694, Thomas Merritt, Hacaliah Brown, and Deliverance Brown were elected vestrymen, showing that there must have been some place of worship, probably for all denominations. We may assume that Thomas was a member of the Church of England from the term "vestrymen" being used and also from the fact that his son was one of the vestrymen in Grace Church. April 12th 1694, Thomas Merritt and Hacaliah Brown are authorized to renew the marks of the White Plains purchase, with the Indians. These marks were probably on certain trees, as appears to have been the mode of denoting a boundary. In January, 1697, Thom-

as Merritt and Deliverance Brown were sent to Hartford with a petition for the General Court of Connecticut to take the town of Rye back into its jurisdiction. September 20th, 1697, Thomas Merritt and Hacialiah Brown, etc., were chosen a "commity for the management and carrying on the worke of building a place of worship." He and John Frost were chosen collectors for the minister's salary. In 1692 "a parsil of land was granted to Thomas Merritt, commonly called the "Pine Island."

In October, 1699, Mr. Thomas Merritt and Lieut. John Horton were deputies for the town of Rye.

November, 1707, Thomas Merritt, Deliverance Brown, Segn'r, and Robert Bloomer, chosen a committee to settle a boundary question, between Rye and Greenwich. After this Thomas I. seems to have taken no more part in town affairs. He was living in 1713, and let us hope that he and his two old cronies Hacialiah Brown and Deliverance Brown enjoyed a tranquil old age. By the way, I wonder if the boys and young men of those days hailed their comrade as "Hack," which they undoubtedly would have done in this generation. Thomas Merritt had four children, whose names are chronicled; but how many more, we do not know. However, one is enough for our purpose, and he was the eldest, whom we shall distinguish as

Thomas II.—He was known as Sergeant, and he lived in the house left to him by his father. Like him, he was evidently energetic in church matters, for we find him in 1711, May 7th, acting as vestryman, together with his Uncle John, under the ministry of the Rev. Christopher Bridge, a church of England clergyman, who went from Narragansett to Rye in Jan., 1710, (His. of Rye, p. 310). "The officers thus elected, next meet with the justices of the peace for the transaction of business," says the chronicle. Until Mr. Bridge's time, it seems that the vestrymen and justices held session without the minister, but in 1712, July 29, an order came from the Government, directing that every orthodox minister be one of the vestry in the parish. (His. of Rye, p. 211.)

Thomas II. had four known children, the inevitable Thomas being the eldest.

Thomas III. moved to the White Plains; but sold his farm to Monmouth Hart in 1740, and removed to King street, where he was living in 1755-68. He married Amy Purdy (born Nov. 2nd, 1739) the daughter of Capt. John Purdy (born May 8th, 1715) (died Aug. 19th, 1805) and Rebecca Brown. He was the son of Joseph Purdy, of an old Rye family, and he served with the British, in the war against the French.

Thomas IV. is chiefly interesting as being a Loyalist, and the father of a family of Loyalists; the only member of a large connection who espoused the Royal cause. Before following our Loyalists into a new land, we may find some interest in more closely inspecting the manners and customs of

that spot where they were born and bred ; thereby, perhaps, being able to form some sort of idea regarding the conditions of life, which they abandoned for the wilds and wood of Canada.

In 1710, the members of the Church of England were 313, Presbyterians 466. There were twenty "heathens, that were servants of families, many of the Dissenters come sometimes to church," says the chronicle. The inhabitants were 799. In 1705, by the perseverance of the Rev. Geo. Murison, it was agreed to "build" a church, when the Hon. Col. Heathcote offered to give "all the nails, for the shingling of the roof, and for the church doors, and making of windows to shutt, with all the hooks and hindges thereunto belonging, and liberty was given, for to get stone and timber upon any particular man's land, provided you get not within a fence, for the building of a church." Through lack of funds, the church was not completed till 1727. This is in all probability the "place of worship," which engaged the interest of Thomas I. It was afterwards called the "Parish Church of Rye," (History of Rye, page 309). It was voted and agreed by the above justices and vestrymen (Thomas being among them) the sum of £55.5.0 to be levied on the Parish— That is to say—

For the minister.....	£50. 0.0
“ Beating the drum.....	£1. 0.0
“ The Clerk	£1. 0.0
Charges of Express to Bedford	£0.10.0
Ye Constable for Collecting.....	£2.12.6

£55. 2.6

Rye was probably as fortunate as many other settlements of the day in the possibilities of procuring medical aid. "Mrs. Sarah Bates," a useful and skilful female practitioner of Stamford, was one of several ancient dames, of the town, who probably, for the first hundred years administered their peculiar remedies to the sick and suffering, a sample of which follows in a letter, "Loving friends, my respects to you, I am sorry for your present sickness, I am not well enough to come to you upon your desire." * * "I have sent you a potion of pills, take as soon as ye messenger returns, in a little honey, and if your vomiting still follow you, take about $\frac{1}{2}$ a gill of brandy, if you can get it, 2 spoonsful of salit oyle, 2 spoonsful of loaf sugar, nutmeg, mix it together and drink it, apply mint, with rum or brandy to his stomache. This I know hath been found good in ye like distemper. Sarah Bates, Stamford, July 30th, 1690." It would be interesting to know whether our Thomas had ever a like dose administered to him. The effect we can hardly question. The first physician mentioned was in 1724. As to local education, there was a certain Ephraim Avery, rector of the Parish

of Rye, who in 1775 intended opening a school for gentlemen's children, where, after setting forth the various educational advantages, he says "Board, washing, lodging and tuition will be £22.0.0 per annum, and one guinea extra, one load of wood, will likewise be expected, and four pounds of candles for the use of the scholars in the winter evenings." Whether this gentleman's plans were ever carried out, is uncertain. There were several schools mentioned, early in the last century, one kept by a Mr. Harris, of strong Republican feeling, and spoken of as a man of violent and cruel temper; inflicting "truly barbarous" punishment upon his scholars. It seems that Harvard College was the highest class of school in those days, and here was educated Thomas V. Slavery does not seem to have prevailed extensively in Rye, from a census in 1712, there were only 18 negroes of all ages. The first mention of slavery occurs in the records of 1689, when Jacob Pearce, one of the original planters, left among his goods and chattels "a negro woman, called by name Rose, which is not inventoried; because it was proffered to be proved upon oath, that her master, Jacob Pearce, did give her her freedom, after his wife's decease." In the same year James Mott sells, alienates and makes over to Humphrey Underhill, of Rye "A sartain neger named Jack, aged about 14 yeres or tharabouts."

The people of Rye were taxed one shilling on every chimney, and two shillings for every negro or Indian slave. In 1755, the number of slaves had increased to 117. Even some of the Society of Friends were owners. The early regulations of the British Government for its foreign plantations, required, that measures be taken whereby "slaves may be best invited to the Christian faith, and be made capable of being baptized therein;" but a missionary's report was that very few masters would give their slaves sufficient leisure for their religious instruction, the Quakers being the most backward in this respect. "The state of the negroes being servitude and bondage, all the week th y are held to hard work; but only Sunday excepted, when they fish, or steal fowl, or some other way provide for themselves Their scattered position, up and down the country, some distance from the church, (but above all the prejudice of the masters, conceiving them to be worse for being taught, and more apt to rebel,) are almost an invincible bar to their Christian instruction." As early as 1793, many slaves were given their freedom; but not until 1827 was slavery entirely abolished.

The principal place of interment for the Merritt family was on Lyon's Point, now part of Port Chester, but only recent names are legible, that of January, 1759, being the oldest of those that are distinct, others of the family are buried in King Street.

Town matters in 1700 were managed by a supervisor, five townsmen or select men, a constable, a town clerk, or recorder,

two assessors, two listers, two pounders, two fenceviewers, two deputies to the General Court, and any number of "Layers out" of public lands and roads as well as captains, lieutenants, ensigns, sergeants of the "Train Bands;" there seems to have been some official post for nearly every member of the little commonwealth. The "Train Band of Rye" is mentioned in the Colonial Records of 1667. It was the militia of the town, such as every settlement in Connecticut was required to maintain. It consisted of all male persons, between sixteen and sixty years of age, ministers and magistrates only excepted; not fewer than sixty-four, and not more than two hundred, might constitute such a company. The arms of the private soldiers were pikes, muskets and swords, these they provided, if able, for themselves. The muskets had match locks, and firelocks, and to each there was a pair of "bandoliers," or pouches for powder, bullets, and a stick called a "rest" for taking aim. The pikes were poles, with a spear at the end fourteen feet in length. For defensive armour, corselets were worn, and coats quilted with cotton. It does not appear that any uniformity was attempted in dress. Trainings took place six times a year. These were great occasions, and were usually solemnized by prayer. The time of meeting was 8 a.m. A heavy fine was imposed for absence, unless by special permission. Even ministers, although exempt from training, were required "to be always provided with, and have in readiness by them, half a pound of powder, two pounds of shot, and two fathom of match." Persons found guilty of cursing and swearing, were fined ten shillings and were condemned "to sit in the stocks two hours the next training day."

In 1772 the first stage coach ran between New York and Boston. Postal communication from New York and Boston was first established in 1672, once a fortnight. In 1755, a weekly service began. In 1762, special messengers were sent for several newspapers from Boston and New York. When anything was stolen, the suspected thief was advertised as well as the articles missing, people in those days were evidently not afraid of being sued for libel. Such as "Stolen out of the house of James Wetmore, at Rye, on the 16th inst., in the night, by Mary Barrington, an Irishwoman, 3 silver watches and sundry other small articles, one of the watches is French make and winds up on the dial-plate; the second is an old-fashioned, frosted dial-plate; the other a common china dial-plate. A reward of £5 will be paid, etc., by James Wetmore." Another, July 13th, 1775, "Stolen out of the pasture, from the subscriber at Rye, June 21st, a sorrel mare about 14 hands high, a natural trotter, marked with a ball face, her mane hanging on the near side, 4 years old. Any person that will apprehend the thief and mare so that the owner can have his mare again, shall be paid the sum of £5.0.0. paid by me, William Lyon."

In 1689 Rye sent a contingent of men to Albany to fight against the French. The Indians in the neighborhood always seem to have been friendly, but during and after the outbreak of King Philip's war, no Indian was allowed to approach the towns and the first Wednesday of every month was observed by public appointment as a day of humiliation and prayer, "in view of these alarms and troubles." About this time the inhabitants of Rye fortified a house for the safety of the town; but the expected attack never came. In 1673 when the Dutch came into possession of New York, the Rye people were in constant fear of attack from their neighbors and for a year were kept in armed suspense till peace was signed with England and the Dutch evacuated their American possessions. In 1774 many citizens of Rye signed a petition protesting against British taxation. Among them were five Merritts, but neither of the Thomases. When these men saw their names in print they became alarmed and published a sort of apology which drew forth the following patriotic appeal:

"Americana No. 1.—To the knaves and fools in the town of Rye, and first the fools. What in the world could have put it in your heads that it was better to have your faces blackened and be negroes and beasts of burden for people in England than to live and die like your forefathers, in a state of freedom? I really could not have believed that there had been so many asses in all America as there appears to be in your little paltry town. Instead of Rye Town, let it hereafter be called "Simple Town," it seems you are such geese as not to know when you are oppressed and when you are not, etc.," (His. of Rye, p. 222.)

In December, 1775, it is stated that the Tories of Westchester were unceasing in their efforts to furnish supplies for the army at Boston, and complaints were made that the friends of liberty were few. If the Merritts were a fair sample of other families, this statement must be incorrect, for Thomas and his children were the only Loyalists out of a large family connection. Thomas IV. must have been an old man when after the evacuation of Boston by the British, March 17, 1776, he and his family sought refuge in New Brunswick in 1778. After the battle of Lexington, he was arrested, tried by the Whigs and barely escaped death for his opinions. He was the eldest of three orphan brothers and a captain of militia. He died in 1821 in New Brunswick. He had lived on a farm between Bedford and Long Island Sound, called in those days "Mile End." Mr. Jedediah Merritt saw the house some years ago and brought away a photograph of it. Since then it has been destroyed by fire. Thomas and his two eldest sons, leaving the rest of the family on their farm, escaped to the loyal parts, where they entered the army.

Shubael, the second son, after the proclamation of peace, went

back to Rye, probably to see his wife, and when he was lodging opposite her father's house, he was surprised by a band of Whigs, and shot. After this event his father, and the rest of the family, sought refuge in New Brunswick (1783). It is interesting to note the acrimony with which Shubael is spoken of in the records of Rye. They say, he was "neither cowboy, nor skinner; but he was a man whom everybody feared," and "would shoot a man for the pleasure of it." They tell two thrilling tales, of how he pursued and shot a Frenchman, and an old man at the plough, whose son, a little boy at the time, afterwards avenged his father's death; these tales are not of a very convincing nature; but as I have no authority for contradicting them, we let them pass. A Mr. Mead states that Shubael was killed at White Plains. Nehemiah Merritt, the father of one of our honorary members, was a little boy at the time of the Rebellion, being about six years old. He has often told his son the story of how two British officers, having breakfasted at his father's house, had just taken their departure, when some Americans came up and asked the little fellow which way they had gone; he refused to tell; so they lifted him up, and held him hanging down the well, threatening to let him drop if he did not give them the information they required; but he stoutly resisted their threats and would not answer. At last they released him, and gave up their useless persecution; the boy, no doubt rejoiced over his victory.

Now we come to Thomas V., who was born in 1759. He was educated at Harvard College, and served in the Queen's Rangers as a cornet. He is mentioned (June 16th, 1779), in the History of Rye. "A party of Lieut-Col. Emmerick's Dragoons, consisting of a sargeant and twelve privates, under command of Lieut. Murison, with Cornet Merritt, took part of two rebel pickets at Byrom and Sherrard's Bridges, and brought off eighteen prisoners." (p. 259).

"The Queen's Rangers was a partisan corps, raised originally in Connecticut and the vicinity of New York, numbering about 500 men, all American Loyalists. About 1776 they were commanded by one Robert Rogers of New Hampshire," spoken of as "one of the most odious of all Americans of note," who had enlisted under the Royal Standard. As early as December, 1776, the inhabitants of Westchester County complained bitterly to the convention * * * of their exposure and suffering from this source. "They are in continual danger of being made prisoners, and having their farms and habitations plundered, by Robert Rogers' party. The suffering inhabitants of Westchester County are ravaged without restraint or remorse." (History of Rye, p. 245). When the Rangers were in South Carolina in 1779 Thomas Merritt married Mary Hamilton, who came out from Ireland with her sister, Mrs. Emmett. They lost their first child, who was Thomas VI.

They then went to join the rest of the family in St. John, New Brunswick; but afterwards moved to Upper Canada; where their second son, William Hamilton, was born, whose public career is too well known to be dwelt upon in this paper. Thomas the VII. died in infancy, and I may mention that Thomas the VIII. thrives in St. Catharines, a sturdy youth of three years. Let us hope that he may follow in the footsteps of his forefathers, a type of staunch and loyal British subjects.

Six Nations Indians as United Empire Loyalists.

BY MR. EDWARD MARION CHADWICK, TORONTO.

The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario has very properly fixed narrow limits for its qualifications for membership, confining such membership to those who are actual descendants of the United Empire Loyalist immigrants. It has not, I believe, appeared very clear to some people why, when such special qualification for membership is required, the Association has thought proper to admit to associate membership the whole of the Six Nations of the Grand River and Tyendinaga Reserves. Therefore it may be well to place on record some explanation of the action of the Association in this matter, not only in order to show that their course in associating the Six Nations with themselves is quite consistent, but also as a matter of interest to recall important events in the history of this most interesting people at a critical period. It is the object of the Association to record, so as to preserve for all time, the facts and circumstances of the United Empire Loyalist immigration into Canada, an historical incident altogether unique and without parallel in known history. In the same way it is desirable to keep in memory the similar immigration of the Six Nations, which in fact occurred at the same time and under practically the same circumstances. When the American revolutionary war broke out, the influence of Sir William Johnson was very great with the Six Nations, and although he died at the moment of the breaking out of the revolution, his influence lived after him, not only maintained by his son Sir John Johnson and son-in-law Col. Guy Johnson, and the many friends whom he had gathered about him, but more especially by the famous warrior and chieftain, Joseph Brant (Thayendinegea), to whom, more than any other person, was undoubtedly owing the fact that the Mohawks, together with the greater number of the other five nations, remained steadfastly loyal to the Crown; and not only that, but time and again they took the field to defend the Crown against the revolutionists. It would be beyond our present purpose to follow in detail the occasions and manner in which this service was rendered. But *en passant* it is impossible to pass over this period without referring to the so-called massacre of Wyoming, because that is the principal one of several occasions in which Americans, as probably all historians now agree, grossly and shamefully misrepresented the actions of the Six Nations, which was done for the purpose of such misrepresentations being circulated through the courts of Europe with the object of discrediting the King of England and his officers, both

civil and military. The massacre of Wyoming as it has been represented in history never in fact occurred. The story which has been related under that name is in reality founded upon another incident, widely different both in character and in degree. It is no doubt the fact that the war was waged on both sides with a spirit of bitterness which led to acts and reprisals which modern opinion and the customs of modern warfare disapprove, but which in those times were regarded as little more than ordinary incidents of war. Although at that time the Six Nations had made a very considerable advance in the direction of civilization, having of themselves made such advance far beyond that of any other Indian people, nevertheless their progress and civilization had not been such as to entirely obliterate the customs and notions of war which had prevailed for long centuries, and which still in the fullest degree prevailed with all the surrounding Indian nations. It was natural therefore to expect that the Indians would, without any sense of impropriety, commit what we would now consider as excesses, in dealing with an enemy, more especially when white men did the same, as frequently happened.

In the year 1779 the United States Congress passed a resolution directing the Commander-in-Chief of their Army (Washington) to take the most effectual means for "protecting the inhabitants" of the frontiers and "chastising the Indians for their continued depredations," as it was expressed, and it was thereupon determined to put this resolve in execution by carrying the war into the more populous country of the Six Nations; to cut off their settlements, destroy their crops, and inflict upon them every other mischief which time and circumstances would permit (Stone's Life of Brant). The populous country indicated may be in a general way described as the Mohawk and Genesee Valleys. These districts were undoubtedly largely composed of forests, but not altogether so, because, as we learn from an official letter or report from Col. Gansevoort to General Sullivan, the Indians, or at least those against whom Gansevoort was employed to operate, "lived much better than most of the Mohawk River farmers; their houses were very well furnished with all necessary household utensils; great plenty of corn, several horses, cows, and waggons." From other sources of information it appears that they had several towns and many large villages, laid out with a considerable degree of regularity. They had framed houses, some of them well finished, having chimneys, and being painted. Stone's Life of Brant describes them as having acquired some of the arts, and enjoying many of the comforts of civilized life, and possessing cultivated fields and orchards of great productiveness. He mentions their having abundance of apples, besides pears and peaches, and a great variety of vegetables. The army which was

to destroy them was prepared with great deliberation and completeness, and was about 8000 strong, including a strong force of artillery. It was commanded by General Sullivan. To meet this attack the Six Nations were only able to muster a force estimated by General Sullivan at 1500 including 200 whites, but which is otherwise, and with much more probability, stated to have consisted, whites and Indians together, of a total of 800; in either case quite inadequate to make any effective stand against the overwhelming force brought against them, and accompanied by artillery, of which the defenders had none. Notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, they made a courageous and stubborn, but hopeless, resistance. The result was that the Indians, men, women, and children, were driven step by step and day by day through their country in the direction of Niagara. The nature of the proceedings of the American army, may be learned from such incidents as the following. On the 2nd of September they encamped at Catharine's town, an Indian village named after a celebrated Indian woman, Catharine Monture, (who is said to have been slain by Sullivan's men). This place was entirely destroyed on the following day, together with corn fields and orchards. The houses, thirty in number, were burnt. It is said that some officers of rank in the American army protested against the wanton destruction of fruit trees as discreditable to American soldiers, but in vain. Sullivan is reported to have said, "The Indians shall see that there is malice enough in our hearts to destroy everything that contributes to their support." On the 4th the army destroyed a small scattered settlement of eight houses. Two days after they reached the more considerable town of Kendaia, containing about twenty houses neatly built and well finished. These were reduced to ashes, and the army spent nearly a day in destroying the fields of corn and fruit trees. Of these there were great abundance and many of them appeared to be very ancient. Thus was begun the campaign, which was prosecuted in the same style and (quoting again from Stone) "the whole country was swept as with the besom of destruction;" "the axe and the torch soon transformed the whole of that beautiful region from the character of a garden to a scene of dreary and sickening desolation." There is no need for us to follow the whole course of the army; it was simply a repetition from day to day of what we have already mentioned. Forty Indian towns, the largest containing 128 houses, were destroyed; corn gathered and ungathered to the amount of 160,000 bushels shared the same fate; the fruit trees were cut down; and the Indians were hunted like wild beasts until neither house nor fruit tree nor field of corn nor inhabitant remained in the whole country. So numerous were the fruit trees that in one orchard 1,500 were cut down. All this is founded on General Sullivan's official report.

It was this devastation of their country which led to the Six Nations throwing in their lot with the migration of Loyalists which the U. E. L. Association exists to commemorate. A body of Mohawks under Chief Deseronto, whose name is now borne by a flourishing town on the Bay of Quinte, crossed the lake and established themselves in the locality afterwards called the Tyendinaga Reserve. At a later date Brant selected and procured from the Government a location on the Grand River, and thither the greater part of the Nations migrated. Some, however, remained in the State of New York, but the settlement on the Grand River comprised what may be termed the headquarters of the Six Nations Confederacy, for the principal hereditary chiefs took part in it, and established the Great Council in their new country, where it has ever since continued. As settlers in Upper Canada the Indians have had their part, such as has been practicable for their condition, in converting the wilderness of forest into a prosperous country; and their part in our history has not been confined to peaceful progress, but it is to be borne in mind to their honour that when the War of 1812 threatened Upper Canada with extinction as a part of the British Empire, the Six Nations stood shoulder to shoulder with the other U. E. Loyalists and their descendants in resisting the attacks of the enemy, rendering valuable service, which they did more especially on the two occasions of Queenston Heights and Beaver Dam; at the former they contributed in no small degree to the important victory then obtained; and the other, which was one of the most brilliant military exploits recorded in history, has been epigrammatically stated to have been accomplished by "Kerr's Mohawks and Fitzgibbon's impudence."

Sketch of the Bruce Family.

BY MRS. CHARLOTTE BRUCE CAREY, TORONTO.

Alexander Bruce, a soldier of fortune, left Scotland about 1745, and settled in New York, marrying Margaret, daughter of Cornelius O'Sullivan. When the rebellion broke out, he, along with his eldest son, William, joined the King's Royal Regiment. After the war, and when the troops were disbanded, they came to Canada in 1784, and settled in Cornwall, which, as is well-known, is the earliest settled town in what is now Ontario. There still stands on lot 14, on the south side of First Street, Cornwall, the remains of the first frame house erected in that town, which was owned by Alexander Bruce. He must have died shortly after coming to Canada, as the deeds of land granted were drawn in the names of his widow, his two sons and his two daughters.

The Bruces do not seem to have suffered the reverses of fortune experienced by most of the Loyalists. There are in the archives, records of money lent by the widow of Alexander Bruce to James Chewett, afterwards Surveyor-General of Upper Canada. I have in my possession, as have other members of the family, several pieces of china and furniture owned by her. She was a woman of great energy and ability, and although left a widow in those times of trouble and hardship, she managed her affairs so well that she not only kept her family in comfort, but she was able to render assistance to many of her less fortunate compatriots. Many anecdotes are told of her indomitable, some might say, overbearing will.

Of the two daughters of Alexander and Margaret Bruce, the elder, Margaret, married Donald McAuley, a prominent lumber merchant, and a captain in the Stormont militia. I have the portraits of Margaret Bruce and her husband, Donald McAuley, painted about the year 1800. Their eldest daughter married Alexander Macdonell, (Greenfield), Sheriff for the county of Prescott, and a member of the North-West Fur Company. There were also two sons, Dr. James McAuley and Wellington McAuley, barrister-at-law, both of whom died when comparatively young, that branch of the family thereby becoming extinct.

Sarah Bruce, second daughter of Alexander and Margaret Bruce, married Mr. Van Koughnet, uncle of Col. Philip Van Koughnet. She had three daughters, Ann, Eve and Margaret. The eldest, Ann, married Solomon Chesley; Eve married David Chesley, his brother, and Margaret died unmarried.

This Solomon Chesley, when quite a young boy, spent a great deal of his time across the river from Cornwall at the Indian village of St. Regis, Indians then, as now, possessing characteristics fascinating to the small boy. Not only the habits but also the language of

the Indians must have interested him, for at the time of the War of 1812, when an officer asked for an interpreter to the Indians, Solomon Chesley, then about sixteen years of age, was the only one who was able to act in that capacity. He acted as interpreter during the war; afterwards he was appointed Indian agent. He represented Cornwall in Parliament from the year 1840-1846; was mayor of the same town in 1860; and afterwards was appointed head of the Indian Department at Ottawa.

We now turn to another family, by the name of Alguire, living in New York State. We find them at the beginning of the revolution, taking different sides, the father fighting on the side of the British, the elder sons joining the revolutionary forces.

In the spring of 1784 John Alguire, the father, came to Canada, accompanied by his wife and younger children, and settled in Cornwall. His daughter Mary married William, the elder son of Alexander Bruce. They had eleven children.

Alexander and Duncan, the two eldest sons, were associated with their uncle, Donald McAuley, in the lumber business. Dr. William Bruce, lieutenant in the first Stormont militia, represented Stormont in parliament during the years 1834-37. He is referred to in Judge Pringle's "History of the Eastern District" as follows: "The names of the Hon. Philip Van Koughnet, the Hon. Archibald McLean, Donald Aeneas McDonell, William Bruce and Alexander McLean will be remembered as those representatives of the county (Stormont) and leaders in many a hard-fought political contest." I insert here a copy of a letter written by him to my father:

"Toronto, March 17th, 1836.

"My Dear Browne,—I received your letter this morning and I must say that nothing could have been more apropos. The Executive Council resigned on Saturday last, because His Excellency would not be advised by them. The whole six resigned, Tories and Radicals, and we "struck" as Paddy says, and will do no more business until we have a responsible Executive Council. The Speaker left the chair and no business was done until we received a reply to some addresses we passed to His Excellency. Yesterday the Speaker took the chair, and we have appointed a committee to take into consideration the Governor's reply to our address. We have arrived at a period that will ever be remembered in Upper Canada. We are determined to ask for, and likewise determined to insist on what you say we must have, that is, a responsible Executive Council. This House must have the above, or we must be dissolved, or we will dissolve ourselves. We are at this moment passing an address to disapprove of the present Council, which I think will pass with a large majority. St. Patrick's Day, '36, a day long to be remembered in the Colonies. We have expected dissolution for the last three days. You will be in suspense till you hear from me again. I will write you again to-morrow.

BRUCE.

"P. S.—Your friend, Park, is speaking now and a very good speaker he is. B."

Sarah Bruce, my mother, second daughter of William Bruce, married William Browne, land surveyor, a graduate of Dublin University, and Captain in the second Stormont militia, whose house was for years a haven for any Irishman coming to Canada without money or friends. The names of Dr. Bruce and Captain Browne do not appear in any of the engagements of '37 or '38, as they both died a few months previous to the outbreak.

Margaret, the eldest daughter of William and Mary Bruce, died unmarried. When she was about twelve years of age one of her American uncles, Alguire, paid a visit to Cornwall, with the object of adopting one of his sister's children, his own family all having married and left home. Of the five children then living, he chose Margaret, and although he offered every inducement, he returned to the United States alone. The fourth son of Alexander and Mary Bruce, John Strachan, godson of Bishop Strachan, was a land-surveyor, and held a commission in the Stormont militia. His widow is a descendant of a U.E. L. family named Wagner. She lives in Cornwall, with one widowed and one unmarried daughter still; the only Bruces left in the original place of settlement. His only son, Duncan, had lived for some years in the West. His youngest daughter, Amelia, is the wife of Dr. MacCallum, Professor in Toronto University. George, fifth son, was also a land-surveyor. He lived for some years in Kingston, and was in early life a close friend of the late Sir John A. Macdonald. His eldest son, George, died fighting for the cause of the North in the American Civil War. The younger son is a clergyman in the Western States. Charlotte, the eighth child of William Bruce, married John Browne, a son of my father, by his first wife. Eventually, John Browne and his family went to the United States, and became American citizens. Cecilia, ninth child of William Bruce, married Isaac Read, of the Reads of Augusta, County of Leeds, U. E. Loyalists. An account of this family is given in Leavitt's History of Leeds and Grenville. Cecilia was born on the same day as Queen Victoria, 24th of May 1819, and died in the summer of 1899. Her eldest daughter married Henry J. Arnold, a descendant of Benedict Arnold. Robert, the youngest son of William and Mary Bruce, was drowned in the St. Lawrence River, west of Cornwall; and Mary, the youngest daughter, died in childhood.

The Alguires were a prolific race, and since I have been looking over the records, I find that my Alguire ancestor was accompanied to Cornwall by two brothers, who settled further west. One of their descendants, Dr. Alguire, is the present Mayor of Cornwall.

The Bruce Arms:—Or, a saltire and chief gu., on a canton arg. a lion rampant az. Crest, a lion passant az. Motto, Fuimus.

The German U.E. Loyalists of the County of Dundas, Ontario—Part I.

BY ALEXANDER CLARK CASSELMAN, TORONTO.

On both banks of the Rhine where it is joined by the Neckar, is a large district about 3,500 square miles in extent, that from the Middle Ages to the beginning of this century was known as the Palatinate, and whose people were called Palatines. Its capital was Heidelberg, and within its borders were the cities of Mayence, Spire, Mannheim and Worms, all names famous in history.

Situated as this Garden of Europe was, near to Wittenburg and Geneva, its inhabitants soon embraced the Reformed faith. Some became followers of Calvin, and some of Luther. The Electors or rulers of the Palatinate for many years were Protestants, but in 1690, the Elector, John William, a devoted adherent of the Roman Church, tried to bring his people back to the old faith.

From its position the Palatinate became both the cause and the theatre of that long war between Louis XIV. of France and nearly the rest of Europe. Louis wished to fulfil the desire and dream of every French ruler,—to make the Rhine the eastern boundary of France. Turenne, Louis' general, laid waste the Palatinate to the west bank of the Rhine. Two Electors, unable to bear such oppression, died of broken hearts. Louis claimed the Palatinate for his brother Philip. The League of Augsburg was formed against him, the soul of the combination being William, Prince of Orange. In this war Louis' generals again overran the Palatinate to chastise its people for receiving kindly the French Protestants who left France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. General Montclas, accordingly, gave the people three days to leave their homes. The villages and towns were burned, the castles and churches destroyed, the ashes of the Emperors in the tombs at Spire were scattered to the winds. Many of the people perished of hunger, but as Macaulay says, "Enough survived to fill the towns of Europe with beggars who had once been prosperous shopkeepers and farmers." The ruins, softened by time, still remain as reminders of Louis' wrath, and as a warning to France that a United Germany shall never permit the like to occur again.

This blow, although hard for the Palatines to bear, was really the means of their deliverance. For while Louis was thus seeking a personal vengeance, William had become firmly seated on the throne of England; and thus he brought in opposition to France the power that was to emancipate Europe, destroy the

MAP OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK AND PART OF CANADA IN 1784

Showing Palatine Settlements

0 10 20 30 40 50 60
Scale of Miles

Tps from Cataraqui

No. 1. Kingston.

2. Ernestown.

3. Fredericksburg.

4. Adolphustown.

Township No. 1, now Charlottenburg.

No. 2 " Cornwall.

No. 3 " Osnabruck.

No. 4 " Williamsburg.

No. 5 " Matilda.

No. 6 " Edwardsburg.

No. 7 " Augusta.

No. 8 " Elizabethtown.



fleets of France and drive her armies from every continent. Once more, during the War of the Spanish Succession, the Palatinate was despoiled. But, in this instance, the greatest general the world ever saw, taught, not only the French, but the people of Europe, that France was not invincible. To Marlborough belongs the credit of making Britain feared by the sovereigns of the continent, and showing the oppressed that there they might find an asylum. During the time when he was all-powerful in England, was passed the Naturalization Act under which refugees from France and other countries found a home in England or its colonies.

In the spring of 1708, fifty-two Palatines, led by their Lutheran minister, Joshua Kockerthal, landed in England, and petitioned to be sent to America. The Board of Trade recommended "that they be settled on the Hudson River, in the Province of New York, where they may be useful, particularly in the production of naval stores, and as a frontier against the French and Indians." It was further recommended "that they be given agricultural tools and be sent out with Lord Lovelace, the recently appointed Governor of New York." They arrived there in due time and were located at Quassaick Creek, just where the City of Newburg now stands, a name which is probably a perpetuation of the name of the then reigning house of Newburg of the Palatinate.

About May, 1709, large numbers of people came down the Rhine to Rotterdam on their way to London. They came in such numbers and so penniless that the people of Rotterdam were put to straits to supply them with the necessities of life.

The British ministry consented to receive 5,000 of them, and to provide means for their transportation. Others followed rapidly, and by June the number in London reached 7,000. There was apparently no cessation to the stream of people. The English became alarmed. Queen Anne and the Government tried to stop them. Men were sent to Holland and up the Rhine to turn them back. The Elector Palatine, John William, tried to keep his subjects. All these efforts were in a measure unavailing, and not until October, when the number in England had reached about 15,000 did this strange emigration cease.

Why so large a number of people, devotedly attached by nature to their homes, should leave their country to seek new domiciles—they scarcely knew where—is a question that historians have tried to answer. Few migrations parallel it in the history of civilization. It is conceded that it was not due to any single cause, but to a coincidence of causes. The events in the history of Europe just touched upon, throw some light upon the reasons for this peculiar movement. The persistent religious persecution; the despoiling of their country by the French; the remarkably severe winter just passed, all combined to weaken

the ties that bound the Palatine to the Fatherland ; while from beyond seas came the encouraging messages of compatriots who had already established happy homes in America. At this very juncture when all seemed so hopeless in the Palatinate, devastated as it was by war and winter, the land-holding proprietors who were seeking to people America, showed extraordinary zeal and activity ; and assisted by their agents in Germany convinced the Palatines that better things awaited them under the British flag across the Atlantic. Till now there had been no escape from oppression, however severe. But Marlborough had made England respected on the Continent ; Marlborough had made England loved in the Palatinate ; and when in 1709 the Naturalization Act was passed by the English Parliament, it came as an invitation to the helpless Palatines, and they responded by a migration unique in the history of nations.

The question that now confronted the Queen, the ministry, and, in fact, the best men of the Kingdom was what to do with this large addition to the population. It was a new problem ! It was fortunate for these poor people that their general demeanor and their devotion to the Protestant religion had enlisted the active personal sympathy of not only "Good Queen Anne," and the mighty Marlborough, but also of the cultured Sunderland, of the cautious Godolphin, and of the fearless and the broad-minded Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury. For their present subsistence the Queen allowed them nine pence a day, and she ordered army tents to be supplied to them from the Tower. Warehouses not in use were given over by their owners as shelters. By the command of the Queen collections were taken up for their benefit in the churches throughout the land. After some days' deliberations, the Board of Trade resolved to settle some of the Palatines within the Kingdom. Accordingly a bounty of £5 a head was offered to parishes that would receive and settle the foreigners. While many were accepted on these terms because they were clever artisans, and, doubtless, became in a generation or two absorbed in the English population,—a large number of those thus accepted merely because of the bounty were soon virtually compelled to return to Blackheath. An attempt to settle 600 in the Scilly Islands resulted in failure, costing nearly £1,500. A contract to place 500 on Barbadoes in the West Indies was apparently not carried out. Ireland absorbed 3,800 of them who formed prosperous settlements in Munster. The Carolinas received 100 families. Death claimed 1,000 on Blackheath ; about 800 were returned to their homes ; and many enlisted in the English army. While they thus appeared as clay in the potter's hand, there is no doubt that the unanimous desire of these exiled people was to reach America.

And strangely enough a complete solution to the problem was not to be given by the consensus of the intelligence and Chris-

tian devotion of England. It so happened that about this time the four Mohawk chiefs that form the subject of one of Addison's pleasantest papers were in London under the guidance of Peter Schuyler and Col. Nicholson ; and in their sight-seeing tour they were taken to see the foreigners at Blackheath.

Touched by their misery but more probably eager to appear generous, they invited the Palatines to America, and gave the Queen a grant of land on the Schoharie for their benefit.

The idea of sending them to America was favored by Robert Hunter who was coming out as Governor of New York. Ten ships with 3,200 Palatines on board set sail in March, 1710 ; nine of them reached New York in June and July, with a loss of 470 lives. One ship was wrecked on Long Island. This incident gave rise to the legend that the ship, lured on shore by false beacons, was robbed and burnt by pirates and all on board killed. A light is said to be sometimes seen from the eastern part of the Island, which, from its fancied resemblance to a burning ship is called the Palatine light or the Palatine ship. This furnished Whittier a theme for one of his poems :—

“ Leagues north, as fly the gull and auk,
Point Judith watches with eye of hawk ;
Leagues south thy beacon flames, Montauk !

There, circling ever their narrow range,
Quaint tradition and legend strange
Live on unchallenged, and know no change.

And old men mending their nets of twine,
Talk together of dream and sign,
Talk of the lost ship Palatine,—

The ship that a hundred years before,
Freighted deep with its goodly store,
In the gales of the equinox went ashore.

The eager islanders one by one
Counted the shots of her signal gun,
And heard the crash when she drove right on !

Into the teeth of death she sped ;
(May God forgive the hands that fed
The false lights over the rocky head !)

* * * * *

Down swooped the wreckers, like birds of prey
Tearing the heart of the ship away,
And the dead had never a word to say.

And then, with ghastly shimmer and shine
Over the rocks and the seething brine,
They burned the wreck of the Palatine !

But the year went round, and when once more
Along their foam-white curves of shore
They heard the line-storm rave and roar,

Behold ! again, with shimmer and shine,
Over the rocks and the seething brine,
The flaming wreck of the Palatine.

Do the elements subtle reflections give ?
Do pictures of all ages live
On Nature's infinite negative,

Which, half in sport, in malice half,
She shows at times, with shudder or laugh,
Phantom and shadow in photograph ?

For still, on many a moonless night,
From Kingston Head and from Montauk light
The spectre kindles and burns in sight.

Now low and dim, now clear and higher
Leaps up the terrible Ghost of Fire,
Then, slowly sinking, the flames expire.

And the wise Sound skippers, though skies be fine,
Reef their sails when they see the sign
Of the blazing wreck of the Palatine !

Before the various vicissitudes of fortune that befel the newcomers in America are recounted a quotation from an admirable history of "The German Exodus to England" by Mr. F. R. Diffenderfer, of Lancaster, Pa., will form a fitting close to their history in England. "From first to last and during every stage of its progress, this remarkable episode proved a very costly affair to the British Government. The records are still accessible, and from them we learn the total cost was £135,775. Here we have more than half a million dollars, paid out at a period when England was not so rich as she is now, and at a time too when she was engaged in costly foreign wars, and when money was worth much more than it is to-day. * * * All Germans, and more especially we Americans of German origin, owe a heavy debt of gratitude to Great Britain, the Government as well as her individual citizens for what they did for those forlorn and distressed Palatines." It is exceedingly gratifying to find a citizen of the United States giving due credit to the power that expended men and treasure to elevate and free the people of all countries.

It was from this New York colony that the German U.E. Loyalists of the counties of Dundas and Stormont are descended. There were some additions to the colony from Germany from this time till 1774, but they were of an individual character. No U. E. Loyalists from any other German source ever came to these counties. It has been the prevalent error both of historians

and of the people to believe that the founders of these counties were the descendants of the Hollanders who were the original owners of New Netherlands (now New York). There is scarcely a name of Dutch origin on the roll of the King's Royal Regiment of New York. In fact, nearly all the Hollanders of the Hudson were rebels.

The survivors of the Atlantic voyage were domiciled at Nuttan Island for five months, until lands could be surveyed for them. Before they left for their new homes eighty-four orphan children were apprenticed to the people of New York. It was the intention of Gov. Hunter to employ the Palatines in producing tar from the pine for the use of the British navy. There was very little pine near the Schoharie and the Mohawk, so the governor bought 6000 acres of land from Robert Livingstone on the east side of the Hudson river and placed some of the refugees there, and some on the west side on 600 acres of crown lands—possibly because both these sites were nearer New York. Huts were built and next spring some commenced the production of tar, while 105, or one-sixth of the levy from the whole province, enlisted for service against the French in Canada. The invasion was a failure owing to the loss of the British fleet under Sir Hovenden Walker in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; consequently the land troops did not march beyond Albany.

During the summer the Palatines began to murmur, and after a time quit work. They had got the idea that they were to be made slaves and were not to be allowed to till the soil. Their excuses were, bad food, poor clothing, and no pay for their military service. Moreover they found that the land was unfit for cultivation. Governor Hunter came and pacified them; they agreed to fulfil the contract they had entered into. He had no sooner gone than the discontent manifested itself more plainly than ever. Hunter returned, sent for troops from Albany and disarmed the few that had arms. Under fear they returned to work and continued at it till winter. By the next spring the Governor, who had expended his private fortune in the mistaken idea that tar in paying quantities could be made from the northern pine, found that the government in England, now under Harley and St. John, would not countenance the projects of their predecessors nor recoup him for his expenditure of over £20,000. There was nothing to do but to abandon the tar project. The Palatines were informed that they would have to shift for themselves, the Governor advising that they seek employment with farmers in New York and New Jersey to support their families until they be recalled to fulfil their contract. They were not to be allowed to remove to any other province unless they wished to be treated as deserters—brought back and imprisoned. Notwithstanding these orders only a few stayed on the Livingstone manor. Thirty families moved south on some land they pur-

chased in fee from Henry Beekman. There they founded the town of Rhinebeck which bears that name to-day. A few went to the "West Camp," the name of the settlement on the west side of the Hudson. The greater portion had their hearts set on the lands of the Schoharie, granted to them by Queen Anne. They waited patiently to hear from the seven deputies they had despatched secretly to look for lands there, to make arrangements with the Indians and to find out the best means of getting to what they called their "promised land." The report was favorable, so a small party in the winter of 1712-13 stole away and arrived in Schoharie, where they were to experience hardships and annoyances almost equal to those they had known in the Fatherland. Without food or shelter they must have perished but for the kindness of the Dutch at Albany and of the Indians who showed them where to find edible roots. In the spring a second party of about 100 families joined them. No sooner had they arrived in the valley than the Governor, soured by the failure of his pet theory, for which the Palatines were in no way to blame, ordered them not to settle upon the land. From necessity they refused to obey. Then commenced the long fight with Schuyler, Livingstone, Wileman and Vroman, the large landholders at Albany. For ten years the fight went on. Some bought their land, others became tenants and some moved to adjacent lands on the Mohawk.

Since 1710 the emigrants from Germany had been going to Pennsylvania, no doubt because of the unfavorable reports from the New York colonies. In 1722, Sir William Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania, accompanied Governor Burnett, of New York, to Albany to meet the Indians in a great council. While there Governor Keith heard of the dissatisfaction of the Palatines. He knew their value as colonists and, being compassionate as well as politic, he invited all to settle on grants beside their German countrymen in Pennsylvania, where they would be accorded "freedom and justice." Fully two-thirds accepted the offer. This was their third migration. Is it any wonder that 175,000 Germans of Pennsylvania, half the population in 1775, remained neutral or took the rebel side? It may be put down as one of the mistakes of the British that they did not cultivate by kindly acts the friendship of those German settlers, and furnish them leaders in whom both Briton and German would have confidence. This would have been comparatively easy, as subsequent events have proved. Many years after the struggle was over, hundreds of Germans in Pennsylvania, after a trial of republican government, found homes in Upper Canada, where they could enjoy the blessing of British institutions.

But how fared those who remained on the Schoharie and the Mohawk? For nearly forty years they were unmolested. Only those who know something of the thrift and energy of their

descendants in Eastern Ontario along the St. Lawrence, can form any idea of the progress made by their ancestors in the Mohawk Valley. Situated on the rich alluvial flats, the finest and most fertile lands in the Province, they soon became rich and prosperous. The gently sloping hills and winding river formed a picturesque scene that must have reminded them of their old home on the Rhine.

But the spoiler of their vine-clad cottage in the Palatinate, finds them even in the Valley of the Hudson. England and France were soon to engage in the final struggle for the possession of this continent. In November, 1757, Belletre with his French and Indians swept through the valley, and burned every barn and house on the north side of the Mohawk. The majority of the settlers saved their lives by crossing the river and entering the fort, but 40 were killed and more than 100 carried away as prisoners. The south side was visited next year by another war party. In this raid fewer were killed but the destruction of property was as great.

It was fortunate for Britain that a man of the ability and integrity of Sir William Johnson lived on the Mohawk. He secured and retained the good will and devotion not only of the Indians but also of the Palatines.

After Canada was taken by the British, quietness and happiness reigned on the Mohawk for twelve years. But there were signs of the coming storm that was to devastate this beautiful valley, and again drive the Palatines from their homes when the fortune of war went against them.

United States writers with characteristic unfairness have hinted that if he had lived, Sir William would have sided with the rebels. Sabine hints that he committed suicide rather than take the Loyalist side. It was wholly due to Sir William that Northern New York produced more Loyalists than any other similar section in the thirteen colonies. Again, it may be said that it was owing to the apathy of his son, Sir John, in the early days of the struggle, that the rebels gained an advantage around Albany, that was never recovered.

The Palatines were divided in their opinions but the majority were loyal. For years the enemies of Britain were busy sowing the seeds of dissension among them. A few years previous to the war, Sir William settled on his estate about 500 Scotch emigrants, a large number of whom were Roman Catholics of the Clan MacDonell. The enemies of Sir William went among the Palatines and told them that it was the intention to use the Highlanders and the Indians to drive them from their lands. To some of the Palatines anyone not of the Reformed faith was hateful; and by these the stories were believed, because the Highlanders when appearing in public, wore the full Highland dress, including dirk, pistols, and claymore. Many meetings

were held, yet little impression was made by the rebel emissaries in the settlements. The leaders of the Loyalists must be silenced. A bold stroke was resolved upon. In December, 1775, Philip Schuyler with 4,000 New England troops was sent to disarm the Loyalists on the Mohawk, and to exact assurances of neutrality from Sir John Johnson and his friends. Sir John granted everything; arms were given up, and he agreed not to leave the county if his property and that of his friends were not touched. Some Palatines and Highlanders were taken as hostages and sent to Connecticut. Although Schuyler got all he asked for, still the rebels must be fed in a way that would not cost them anything. Under pretence that all arms were not given up since the Highlanders kept their dirks, he declared the agreement broken and gave free license to his followers to plunder. The cattle, horses, pigs and poultry needed, belonging to the Loyalists, were taken; the church was looted, the vault containing the remains of Sir William Johnson broken open and his lead casket stolen and melted into bullets. For this Schuyler received the thanks of Congress!

Thus in direct violation of a solemn agreement was the destruction of property on the Mohawk begun by the rebels. Could the authors of such outrages expect any mercy from Sir John Johnson, from John Butler and his son, Walter Butler, and their followers when they swept down on this valley again and again during the war, when they returned to their old homes simply to despoil the spoilers now in possession?

Sir John, after being subjected to petty annoyances all winter, heard from his friends in Albany that Schuyler intended to release him from his parole, and at the same time take him prisoner. Losing no time, he hurriedly buried his papers; and, trusting to a negro servant to bury his plate, gathered about 200 followers and started by an unfrequented route to Montreal. They arrived there during the last week of June, the day after the city, recently evacuated by the rebel invaders, was entered by Sir Guy Carleton. On the journey they had suffered severely from hunger, as they could not in their haste prepare supplies for nineteen days; and so their principal food had been leeks and the young leaves of the beech. During the last days of the toilsome march many, from exhaustion, fell by the way; the Indians of Caughnawaga were sent out to the rescue. All were brought in safe to Montreal.

Properly to understand the hardships of the Loyalists on the Mohawk, it should be borne in mind that they knew of no safe means of escape. On the north, all Canada, except Quebec, was in possession of the rebels; the continental armies controlled the old frequented highways leading to the British headquarters to the south. Imprisonment or death from hunger in the forest

was the only alternative for all that would not forsake their allegiance to their King.

As soon as Sir John arrived in Montreal, scouts were sent out to the Mohawk to show the way to those who wished to come to Montreal and the British posts of Chambly and Ile-aux-Noix, on the Richelieu.



SIR JOHN JOHNSON.

On July 7th Sir John Johnson was granted the privilege of raising a battalion from among his followers and the Loyalists around Johnstown on the Mohawk. This battalion was called the "King's Royal Regiment of New York," or "The Royal Yorkers," or "Royal Greens." Recruiting went on, and in the fall the battalion was complete. In 1780 another battalion was formed. A very large number, in fact the majority of each of these battalions, were Palatines. Butler's Rangers, Jessup's Rangers and Rogers' Rangers also contained not a few Palatines. A very moderate estimate places the number of Palatines who served in the various corps and who settled in Dundas and adjoining counties at about 600. This does not include those refugees unfit for service, or those who would not enlist, or those who came here after the peace. It is an estimate of the able-bodied soldiers who survived the various campaigns of six years' border warfare and garrison duty at the several posts. How many lost their lives in the hazardous enterprises that the corps took part in, or how many died in prison or were hanged

as spies, is not known ; but the number must have been considerable.

Most of the officers were English or Scotch. This is accounted for by the fact that the Highlanders who had recently settled on the Mohawk had, before emigrating, seen active service in various grades in the British army. The Palatines had had no such military training.

In the spring of 1784 the several regiments were settled upon the lands allotted to them along the banks of the St. Lawrence, from Charlottenburg in Glengarry to the Bay of Quinte. The future homes of these vigorous pioneers were not determined by chance. The Highlanders longed for a Highland settlement. The Scotch Presbyterians and the Palatine Lutherans and Palatine Presbyterians asked to be placed in separate communities where they might enjoy the consolations of their own religion. Accordingly in acceding to this petition the authorities with a wonderful foresight so arranged the several conflicting interests of nationality and religion that the utmost harmony has prevailed. The Highland Roman Catholics were placed farthest east beside their French co-religionists ; west of them the Scotch Presbyterians ; then the Palatines—some Lutherans, some Presbyterians, speaking a different language and forming a barrier between the English to the west and the Scotch and French to the east. Thus was laid the foundation of the Ontario that was yet to be, the common bond being the love of British institutions, which is as strong to-day in their descendants as it was in those who risked everything for a "United Empire" so that Britain should be the controlling power in America.

The Palatines were not novices at clearing away the forest and bringing the land quickly under cultivation. If they had readily become the most serviceable and reliable of soldiers ; if cut off from home and family, they had under Sir John Johnson and the Butlers for seven years held the rebels at bay in Central New York and swept the country in raid after raid from Oswego to the borders of Pennsylvania—yet now they showed that they had not forgotten the arts of peace. They returned to the implements of husbandry and won in their new homes victories not less splendid than their triumphs amid the ruins of their old homes. They were aided for two years by supplies from the government and in the third year were not only self-sustaining but actually had grain for export. Although settled in the wilderness far from the centres of population, they knew something of the advantages of older settlements. To acquire such advantages as soon as possible was their aim from the beginning.

It is worthy of note that the first Protestant church in the Province of Canada was built by the Lutheran Palatines on the banks of the St. Lawrence about three miles below the present village of Morrisburg. It was commenced in 1789 and finished

the next year. The first pastor was Rev. Samuel Schwerdfeger, who along with his family was imprisoned by the rebels for his persistence in exhorting his flock on the Mohawk to retain their allegiance to their king.

To another paper must be left the rest of the story of the hardy Palatines, now after four migrations, hewing new homes for themselves out of the "primeval forests" of North America. The growth of the settlement, the individual experiences, the persistent and effective defence of their new homes against their invading enemy in 1813, their wise and loyal efforts for constitutional reform in 1837, all form important chapters in the development of that happy, prosperous, progressive and intelligent people that now enjoy and prize the privileges so dearly bought by their ancestors more than a hundred years ago.

In conclusion, I wish to refer to some statements made recently about the U. E. Loyalists. An article on "The Loyalists of the American Revolution," appeared in the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1898, and received notice in an annual publication of the library of our Provincial University. The editors of this publication are the Librarian and the Professor of History.

Herein the statement is made that the U. E. Loyalists were "drawn from the official, professional and commercial classes" and that they were a "melancholy procession of 'weeping pilgrims'." To say that position or wealth or profession or any other selfish motive, determined the choice of the Loyalists is far from the truth, and we as a society should not allow it to go unchallenged. It was principle, not place, that caused their adherence to the old order of things. Loyalists were found among all classes, all occupations, all denominations, and all nationalities represented in the colonies.

To refute the charge that it was the classes that remained loyal, your attention is directed to the Germans, Scotch, English and Irish of New York who were prosperous farmers and artisans on the Mohawk and who became in a short time again the prosperous farmers and artisans of the St. Lawrence and the Bay of Quinte. Moreover the U. E. Loyalists were not a "melancholy procession of 'weeping pilgrims'," but a determined band of the most stout-hearted, upright, incorruptible people of the provinces, conscious of the righteousness of their choice, and relying on a faith in themselves that no adversity of fortune could shake. Does anyone, acquainted with the history of the country, believe that a nation like Canada had as a foundation "melancholy, weeping pilgrims"? We do not hope for American writers to say anything very praiseworthy of the U. E. Loyalists, but from Canadians, holding prominent positions, which add effectiveness and respect to their opinion, we do expect that they will, to say the least, be fair.

The German U.E. Loyalists of the County of Dundas, Ontario.—Part II.

BY ALEXANDER CLARK CASSELMAN, TORONTO.

In the first paper on the German U.E. Loyalists of the County of Dundas, I described the exodus of their ancestors from the Palatinate in 1710, their stay in England, their voyage to America, their settlement in the province of New York along the banks of the Hudson River, their secret migration to Schoharie, their trouble with the large-acred proprietors, their flight to Canada, and their enlistment in the King's Royal Regiment of New York, under Sir John Johnson. The disbandment of that regiment and the selection of their farms by lot at New Johnstown—now Cornwall—and their occupying these farms along the northern bank of the St. Lawrence have been briefly noticed. I now turn to a narration of their experiences in their new homes.

When the Loyalists went to settle upon their land grants, they were given by the Government provisions and implements absolutely necessary to clear away the forest, build their houses, and put in their gift of seed grain. Clothing material and blankets had to be served out to them, as very little more than the clothing on their backs could be brought by their families from their old homes.

In October, 1784, a muster of the settlers was held to enable the Government to learn how much progress had been made towards a permanent settlement, and to find out the quantity of necessary supplies required by each settlement.

By this muster of the disbanded troops of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, we find the following returns from the townships settled by the German Palatines :—

Township No.		Men	Women	Children	Servants	Acres Cleared.
2	(Cornwall).....	215	87	214	1	101½
3	(Osnabruck)...	50	7	14	4	30
4	(Williamsburg)	93	33	76	1	101¾
5	(Matilda).....	75	33	64	5	56½
		433	160	368	11	289¾

The townships of Cornwall and Osnabruck are front or river townships in the County of Stormont, the other two are the front townships of the County of Dundas. I have included the two former townships because the greater number of the first settlers in them were German. Williamsburg and Matilda were wholly German. That in the short space of three months these early settlers had built habitations for themselves and cleared, as we see from the returns, about two-thirds of an acre of land for

each man is a remarkable record of their energy, activity and earnestness. Anyone acquainted with the heavy hardwood timber of the virgin forest along the banks of the St. Lawrence will say there were few idle moments for those able to work. It must be borne in mind that an axe of a very clumsy pattern, and often of very poor material, was the principal implement, and that the rolling together of the timber, or logging, was done in most cases without the aid of horses. But these settlers were once farmers on the banks of the Mohawk, and had laid down the axe and the reaping hook of the husbandman for the sword and the musket of the soldier. They now returned to their former occupations, to lay the foundation of an empire north of the St. Lawrence as readily as they tried to preserve for the king those more populous portions south of that river.

To depict the home life of these people is not necessary. It was exceedingly simple—from necessity; and if they were not always comfortable they were happy, and were cheered by the prospect that their industry would in time bring them consolation. The same story of conquering the forest may be told of every U. E. Loyalist settlement in Canada. In the whole history of the colonization of a country can anything be more sublime than the soldier-farmers winning homes for themselves against the giants of the forest and the rigorousness of a severe climate? The thought that should fill each breast with pride at this time is that our ancestors accomplished this with a cheerfulness and enthusiasm that should be the guiding light—the inspiration of the people of Canada for all time.

Active as they were in the duties and labors of their new homes they were not less interested in the affairs of the commonweal. In 1774 the British Parliament passed the Quebec Act. This was specially framed to suit the inhabitants of French origin in the newly-acquired colony of Canada. When the Loyalists settled in Canada in 1784 the authority for the government of the new subjects was vested in this Act. As the Act had been intended only for the French, it was partly inoperative with respect to the Loyalists along the St. Lawrence. The law was administered by military officers and was a kind of military rule from which all the harshness, usually implied thereby, was excluded. The executive officer of the county of Dundas was Captain Richard Duncan, a Scotchman, who before the war was for five years an ensign in the 55th Regiment. His home was at Mariatown, now a small collection of houses about a mile west of the present village of Morrisburg. It was founded by Capt. Duncan and named in honor of his daughter, Maria, who was said to be the most beautiful woman in the new settlement. From all that I can learn of Judge Duncan, as he was called, he was a kind-hearted and generous man, who dealt out the law of

right and justice, although not strictly in accordance with the existing constitution.

As the German settlers were deeply religious and generally industrious no serious cases of dispute arose. They had trial by jury, with sheriff and judge, and Mr. Croil in "Dundas" says that Mr. Richard Loucks, in whose tavern the court was held, had an account not only against the grand jury for liquor used in the court room, but also against the judge for brandy furnished for a supper given by him to the jurymen. Notwithstanding the congeniality of judge and jury, some penalties were inflicted for misdemeanors. Minor offences were atoned for in the pillory, which adjoined the inn of Loucks. Extreme offences were punished by banishment to the United States! This, of course, was considered unusually severe and ranked next to the sentence of death.

Although the geniality and generosity of the judge were unbounded, it will be readily understood that the sturdy Loyalists, familiar as they were with representative institutions in the colony of New York, would soon strive for a more substantial form of government than that dispensed by a military officer, however efficient he might be.

Just here allow me to correct an impression that many, even in Canada, have regarding the U. E. Loyalists. Their detractors say, because they risked their lives and all their worldly belongings for the sake of British connection and British supremacy, that they approved all the acts of George III. in relation to America, that their loyalty was a blind fidelity to flag and sovereign. This is one of the calumnies under which they labored. But if the descendants of their bitterest enemies have not wholly vindicated the Loyalists' action, they have materially softened their imputations. Among the Loyalists were many men, men of high ideals, of liberal culture and of the highest character who were the bitterest opponents of the oppressive and unwise acts of George III. Although they deplored the actions of the king they did not consider rebellion the proper means to rectify any existing error that the British had made with respect to them. This was the noble distinction between the Loyalists and the rebels. The Loyalists believed that constitutional means would furnish a more meritorious and more lasting method for redress of grievances than a resort to arms. There is no one but will admit that it required more courage to take up arms in defence of a government whose acts you cannot approve than to be a rebel. In a little more than fifty years in their new home the Loyalists had to face similar difficulties and similar oppression, and I am proud to say that they then resisted a resort to arms as strongly as when they had taken up arms in a righteous cause, that by the fortunes of war was destined to drive them from their comfortable homes to seek new ones in the unbroken wilderness.

True to those principles of constitutional redress of grievances,

the Loyalists of the County of Dundas, pointed out the civil difficulties under which they labored and greatly influenced the legislation for the colony. In the state papers of this time we find in a petition of Sir John Johnson and other Loyalist subscribers to the king, dated April 11, 1785, several suggestions that were afterwards embodied in the Constitutional Act of 1791. After pointing out the hardships involved in the land tenure under the Quebec Act, they propose: (1) A district from Point au Baudet (Beaudette) westward, distinct from the province of Quebec; (2) The division of the district into counties with Cataraqui (now Kingston) as the metropolis. The petition closes with these words, "Your petitioners implore your Majesty that the blessing of British laws and British government and an exemption from the French tenures may be extended to the afore-said settlements."

The British officials were slow to move and other petitions followed the next year. One was sent from New Johnstown (Cornwall) dated Dec. 2, 1786; one from New Oswegatchie (Prescott) dated Nov. 16, 1786, and one from Cataraqui (Kingston).

In the following year, on June 13, another petition was forwarded to the British Government, praying for the same as in the last petitions, and in addition: 1. For English tenure of lands. 2. For assistance in establishing churches of England and Scotland. 3. For assistance to establish a school in each district. 4. For a prohibition of pot and pearl ashes from Vermont as leading to an illicit trade with the United States, and for a bounty on these articles and hemp. 5. For a loan of three months' provisions. 6. For clothing to the distressed. 7. For the speedy running of the division lines of the townships. 8. For a post road from Montreal to Cataraqui, and for post offices at New Johnstown, New Oswegatchie and Cataraqui. 9. For a passage from the head of the Bay of Quinté, through to Lake Huron for the Indian trade. 10. That three places may be pitched upon between River Baudet and Cataraqui to receive grain from the settlers. 11. That the commissioners on claims would visit New Johnstown, New Oswegatchie and Cataraqui, the general poverty of the settlers preventing them from pressing their claims at Montreal and Quebec. 12. That the use of canal locks be confirmed to them and that in respect to lands they be put on an equal footing with the 84th Regiment.

It should be understood that nearly all the population of what is now Ontario was east of what is now Belleville, except a small settlement at Niagara. If the proper significance is attached to these petitions, there is thrown on the thoughts and character of the people, a side light that beautifully illumines this page of our history. They show that the people had in them the instincts of popular government and were not the serfs of any government or king. They prove that the grand principle they had fought for was right. Patience and pressure by

constitutional methods will bring about better results than a resort to arms. The answer to these petitions was the Constitutional Act of 1791. This Act gave to Upper Canada a more liberal and popular form of government than possessed by England at the time, and fully as liberal as that in any of the boasted democracies of the United States. There were some clauses in this Act that caused a great deal of trouble in after years, notably the provision for the clergy, and the creation of an irresponsible upper chamber. We see from these petitions that the word Protestant in the Act meant Church of Scotland, as well as Church of England. With all the defects in the Act, as we see it now, considering the state of the country, and the absence of precedents, it would not be easy to suggest much improvement. The qualification for voters was extremely liberal. They must be British subjects of the full age of 21 years, and possessed of lands of the yearly value of forty shillings sterling or upwards within the county. In towns the yearly value for qualification was five pounds.

Under the Constitutional Act the inhabitants of the County of Dundas were happy. Their industry was amply rewarded by good crops from lands that are as suited to mixed farming as any on the continent. Mills for grinding grain and sawing lumber by power from water and wind were built at convenient places on the river bank. Although there were no factories for making cloth from wool, flax, and hemp until many years after the beginning of the century, this deficiency was supplied by the handiwork of the women, who, with the rudest hand tools, carded, spun, and wove the various materials into substantial cloth for clothing and household uses. More than one member attended the sessions of the Legislature at Newark and York in a suit of clothes wholly manufactured in his own home.

The rural simplicity and quietness of the county was somewhat disturbed during the War of 1812-15. Many of the inhabitants enlisted in the active colonial corps and took part in the famous actions of that war. The principal duty however of the militia of the County of Dundas was to guard the convoys of boats or wagons passing up the river to supply the forts at Prescott, Kingston, Niagara and York. This was no sinecure as all stores and ammunition had to pass in sight of the United States troops ready to seize them, had they not been securely guarded. Although many were the attempts only on one occasion was the guard surprised and overpowered and the supplies taken. Some of these encounters were desperate, and for the numbers engaged might be dignified by the name of battle.

Mr. Hough, the historian of St. Lawrence County in New York State, says—"The early settlers on the south bank of the river were indebted in an especial manner to their Canadian neighbors for many kindnesses which relieved them from those extremities that settlers of other parts less favorably situated

endured. When the war broke out, each became suspicious of the other. The visits ceased for about a year, and by some means were renewed, but always at night and in secret. There was one Canadian who thought this visiting wrong, and when called upon to sustain the interest to his king, felt the old-time spirit return. Although a very kind-hearted man and strongly attached by ties of friendship to his American neighbors, he sternly refused all renewals of acquaintance, from a sense of duty, and discountenanced it among his neighbors. One evening an inhabitant of the south shore resolved to attempt to conquer this spirit by kindness and boldly visited his house as had been his custom. Finding him absent at a neighbor's, the American followed him, and warmly saluted him with a cordial grasp of the hand, and friendly chiding, for so long and so obstinately withstanding the claims of friendship. This appeal to the heart outweighed the decision of the head, and the salutation was, after a moment's hesitation, returned with a cordiality that showed him sensible of the truth, that man is by nature a social being, and intended to live by the side of his neighbors. Peace was thus declared along this frontier long before the fact was established by diplomatists."

During the three years war the most momentous event in which the Dundas militia bore a part was the battle of Crysler's Farm. In October, 1813, an invading army of the enemy about 10,000 strong assembled at Sackett's Harbor with the intention of taking Kingston and other posts on the river and proceeding to Montreal to co-operate with another army moving against that city by the Lake Champlain route. The season was well advanced before this large army under the command of General James Wilkinson, was prepared to move. Kingston was well guarded, so it was decided to pass it and invest Montreal. They passed down the river in about 300 boats and were not seriously interfered with till the County of Dundas was reached. Here the old soldiers of Sir John Johnson and their sons lined the banks of the river and with their muskets seriously annoyed the invaders in their closely-packed boats. So vexing and worrying had this become that the flotilla had to halt, and a detachment was landed and sent down the north bank to clear the way to insure the safe passage of the boats. This so checked the advance of the enemy that Col. Morrison, with a corps of observation of 750 men from Kingston had time to overtake them at Lot No. 12 in the township of Williamsburg. Here on Nov. 11th, 1813, the British and Canadians, assisted by the Dundas Militia, all under the command of Morrison, aided by Col. Harvey, in all about 1,200 men, attacked the rear guard of Wilkinson's army of about 5,000 men, under General Boyd, well-equipped with cavalry and cannon, and utterly defeated it. The loss of the Americans, according to their despatch, was 102 killed and 237 wounded. The loss of the British and Canadians was 24 killed

and 221 wounded.* This was the best-fought battle of the whole war. The Americans retreated to their own shores and Montreal was saved. The value of this victory was much enhanced by the fact that it was badly needed to revive the spirits of the Canadian people. The whole of the western peninsula had been lost by Procter's defeat at Moraviantown; Niagara and Fort Erie were in the hands of the enemy; and the small army of General Vincent was preparing to withstand a siege at Burlington Heights. York had been twice taken during the year, and a large amount of property destroyed. Thus the fortunes of the British were at the lowest point during the war. The victory of Crysler's Farm restored confidence, and was the beginning of the end. The British government recognized its importance by granting a medal for this victory. The value of this will be understood when it is recalled that medals were granted for only two other engagements during the war, for Detroit and for Chateauguay. The government of the United States was equally cognizant of this victory, for General Wilkinson, their commander, was court-martialed, and General Boyd's services were not retained on the reduction of their army at the close of the war.

The inhabitants of the County of Dundas, every one a soldier, deserve a large share of credit for the victory. They were the first settlers along the river to offer any resistance to the flotilla. They detained the invaders by an organized system that kept the enemy in constant terror. They employed the same tactics by which they spread consternation among the rebels during the revolutionary war. Always invisible, but ever present, they forced the invaders to fight and then defeated them. The highest tribute to the people of Dundas is paid them by Gen. Wilkinson, who says in his despatch:—"The enemy deserve credit for their zeal and intelligence, which the active universal hostility of the male inhabitants of the country enable them to employ to the greatest advantage. Thus while menaced by a respectable force in rear, the coast was lined by musketry in front, at every critical pass of the river, which obliged me to march a detachment and thus impeded my progress."

The British commander also testifies to the zeal which all classes had shown in their endeavors to oppose the threatened invasion. For Sir George Prevost says for the information of His Majesty's Government that "The very great exertions made for the preservation of the Canadas by its population in conjunction

*The British put the American loss at 600 to 700 killed and wounded, and 180 prisoners. (Col. Harvey's letter of 12th Nov. in "*Ten Years of Upper Canada*," by Lady Edgar.) This is a close approximation to the result deduced from the councils of war held by Wilkinson. On Nov. 9th at Tuttle's Bay, in the township of Matilda, he states he has 7,000 effective troops. On the 12th at Barnhart's Island near Cornwall he states he has only 6,000. Thus in three days the loss was 1,000 men, and as there was only a skirmish at Hoople's Creek near the head of the Long Sault, 800 at least may be credited to the engagement at Crysler's Farm on the 11th, a number equal to two-thirds of the whole British force.

with the small force under my command, may eventually degenerate into indifference for the result of the present contest unless the support from the Mother Country is equal to the magnitude of the stake."

For some years the representatives of the County of Dundas in the parliament of Canada urged the government to erect some memorial column to mark the spot where Canadians and British fell in defence of our country. The most active promoters of late years in this laudable work were our respected president, Mr. H. H. Cook, M.P. for East Simcoe, himself a Dundas boy, born within sight of the battle-ground; Dr. C. E. Hickey, M.P. for Dundas, and his successor, Mr. H. H. Ross. It was the good fortune of Mr. Ross, while representative of the county to see their labor of love and patriotism accomplished. On the 25th of September, 1895, the monument, just completed, was unveiled by Hon. John Graham Haggart in presence of a vast crowd of people from the surrounding country. Of the important personages present on this historic occasion, not the least notable were Mr. Samuel Crysler, aged 90, and Mr. George Weaver, aged 91, who heard the roar of battle and saw some of its movements on this same ground 82 years before.

After the close of the war the people returned to their peaceful occupations once more. Then more fiercely than ever commenced that great constitutional struggle between the elected and appointed branches of the Parliament that ended in the Union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841, and somewhat later in the abolition of irresponsible advisers of the Lieutenant-Governor.

To attempt to outline even the political history of Dundas from the close of the war till 1841 would be tedious. It may be said, however, that for twenty years Dundas sent to Parliament representatives who continually pressed for a better form of government, a government which if prone to do wrong would have less power to inflict harm. Because the people of Dundas so persistently opposed what was called The Family Compact, it must not be understood that they were disloyal or even had the remotest idea of taking up arms to redress grievances. In the whole Eastern district not one was even suspected of committing any treasonable act. Of course it should not be considered a great virtue to be loyal. But since some rashly resorted to arms to enforce their opinions and to sever Canada from Britain, I merely mention the fact. The people of Dundas occupied a strange position which was very different from that of the people of the western portion of the province. In the west were many settlers from the United States who were in their hearts disloyal. Their object was to make Canada a part of the United States, and the surest way to bring this about was to take sides with the constitutional agitators for reform. The treasonable designs of these disloyal persons cemented the old U. E. Loyalists

into one opposing camp whose watchword was British connection. Very different was the situation in the east. None but Loyalists settled there—in fact none but tried Loyalists were allowed to do so. Hence they divided, as communities will on any subject, but it was understood that every Loyalist desired nothing else but British connection, and without fear of being called sympathizers with the United States, they could elect members pledged to use their best endeavors to secure reforms. For four parliaments Dundas sent two members showing that its population was relatively more than some other counties of much greater area. The men that stand out prominently during this period of political strife are Col. John Crysler, Peter Shaver and John Cook. Peter Shaver and John Cook being the joint representatives for three consecutive parliaments. Col. Crysler served for 16 years, (1808-1824); Peter Shaver for 17 years, (1824-1841); John Cook, for 15 years, (1830-1845).

When the province was invaded at Prescott by sympathizers with the rebels, from the United States, under Von Schoultz, the Dundas militia were soon at the scene of action. Their loss was, four rank and file killed, one lieutenant and five rank and file wounded. The result of this engagement is well-known to all. Not one of the 170 invaders escaped. Nearly 100 were killed and the remainder surrendered prisoners of war. Von Schoultz and others of lesser note were hanged at Kingston. A few of the youthful adherents were pardoned and sent home to the United States, of the remainder a few were imprisoned and the others transported to Van Dieman's Land.

Again, during the Fenian scare, did the militia of Dundas nobly respond to the call for the defence of the country. And at this time (February, 1900) some of its young men are members of each of the contingents on active service in South Africa.

A mere recital of the main facts in the history of even one family would require the space of a whole paper such as this. But I shall conclude with two typical stories of romantic adventure and hardship.

Henry Merkley was a young man living with his father in the valley of the Schoharie, New York, when the revolutionary war broke out. He was known to be a Loyalist; and when he was working in the harvest field, a neighbor, named Young, and his son came over and began talking on the political aspect of the times. Merkley would not declare himself, and we believe, took rather a non-partisan standpoint. This was an act of prudence on his part, as his unwelcome callers were armed with muskets. However, this discretion did not save Merkley. John Young, the son, shot him in the side, but did not kill him; and, when about to finish his murderous work with the butt end of his musket, he was prevented by his father. Soon after this Merkley was put into Schoharie jail. After his wounds were healed he managed to make his escape and reached Niagara.

He at once joined the King's Royal Regiment of New York, and served in the several memorable campaigns with that famous regiment until the close of the war. After its disbandment he settled in Montreal, and subsequently in Williamsburg in the County of Dundas. Here he soon became a prosperous and popular farmer, and took an active part in the civil and military affairs of the country. From 1804 to 1808 he was the representative of the County in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada. He was an officer of the Dundas militia, and was present at Crysler's Farm, and took part in the several engagements on the St. Lawrence frontier during the war.

When Mr. Merkley was living on his farm in Williamsburg, a beggar came to his door and asked for a meal. The farmer and beggar instantly recognized each other. The last time they met was in the harvest field in Schoharie. The beggar was none other than John Young, who had so nearly taken Mr. Merkley's life some years before, now reduced to the humiliating position of asking alms from the man he so cruelly wronged. The utter abjectness of his position, led him to ask forgiveness for his despicable deed. Mr. Merkley, was not quite so willing to grant the forgiveness, but his Christian spirit overcame his feelings: his former enemy was fed and sent on his way.

The following sketch of one of the U. E. Loyalists of Palatine descent has hardly a parallel among the annals of hardship, adventure, and peril experienced by the first settlers of Canada.

Christina Merkley, was the seventeen-year-old daughter of Michael Merkley, a thrifty farmer of Schoharie. Her mother was dead and the affairs of the household and the care of her five-year-old brother, were to a great extent in charge of herself and her sister two years younger. On the day our story begins, her father was away with his niece on a visit to her married sister. As the shades of evening began to fall the two girls became somewhat impatient and their sense of loneliness was increased by the crying of their brother. After a few moments of watching the father and cousin were seen riding swiftly towards the house. The little boy's crying changed to joyous laughter and the three ran out to greet their father. Just as they emerged from the house a volley rang out and the father and cousin dropped from their horses dead. Before they could realize what had happened they were prisoners of a band of Indians. After taking the booty they required, the Indians set the house and buildings on fire and quickly took their departure with their prisoners. To hasten the children's footsteps and to frighten them into silence they were shown the scalps of their father and cousin. The boy, not old enough to know the meaning of such a threat, kept on crying, and between sobs would call out, "I want my father, I want my father!" The threats of the savages and the fearful pleadings of the sisters proving ineffectual, the girls were ordered to go on ahead with

the squaws. They believed they would never see their brother again. His cries ceased, and in a few minutes when his bleeding scalp was dangled before them as a warning, their belief was confirmed.

Who can describe the feelings of these children during the five weeks' march to Niagara! Their physical sufferings were scarcely less severe than their anguish of mind. Exposed to the weather on long marches with insufficient clothing, they were in constant danger but were always saved from the drunken Indians by the Indian women.

After seven weeks of hardship and captivity in the Indian encampment at Niagara, their presence there came to the knowledge of Sir John Johnson. He compelled the Indians to give them up in exchange for some presents. By him they were taken to Montreal, and till the end of the war they lived with his household. In May, 1784, just before the King's Royal Regiment started for their future homes on the banks of the St. Lawrence, Christina married Jacob Ross, a soldier of the first battalion of that famous regiment. Jacob Ross drew land in township No. 2, or Cornwall. Like other Loyalist families they were supplied with the necessaries of life for making a home in the wilderness. But they were without a cow and they had no money to purchase one. As the prospects for getting money from the sale of the produce of a farm that as yet was a forest, seemed rather distant, it was arranged that Mrs. Ross should go to Montreal and seek domestic employment and thereby earn sufficient money to purchase this useful animal. At the end of a year the cow was bought and, meanwhile, the husband had cleared enough land so that some grain and vegetables could be raised. The difficulties incident to making a new home in the wilderness being now overcome, there is little to chronicle besides the routine of others similarly situated.

Mrs. Ross died in 1857 at the great age of 98. She was a member of the German Lutheran church and her last desire that her German Bible and prayer-book be buried with her was gratified.

The descendants of Mrs. Ross in the Counties of Stormont and Dundas, are many. All the honorable professions are represented among her descendants, while some of them have been elected to serve their fellow-citizens in the legislative halls of our country.

One grandson, Samuel Ault, represented Stormont in the parliament of the old province of Canada from 1861 to 1867 and for one term in the parliament of the Dominion. In 1861 Mr. Ault's opponent was no less a personage than John Sandfield Macdonald. Another grandson, John Sylvester Ross, was the representative of Dundas for two terms in the parliament of the old province of Canada and also for two terms in the Dominion parliament. Hugo H. Ross, of Iroquois, son of the preceding, was M.P. for Dundas from 1891 to 1896.

Adolphustown, or the Township of Adolphus or
Fourth Town, the First Settlement by United
Empire Loyalists.

BY DR. WILLIAM CANNIFF, GRAVENHURST, ONT.

The settlement of Upper Canada by the United Empire Loyalists in 1784 was effected from three points, one on the St. Lawrence, one commencing at the ruins of Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, and the other from the banks of the Niagara River, opposite Fort Niagara.

Confining our attention to the second of these, the survey of the land into townships, which began in 1783, was made from Fort Frontenac (or as it was more commonly distinguished, Cataraqui) westward and fronting on the shores of Lake Ontario and the Bay of Quinte. At first the townships were known by numbers, as First, Second, Third Townships. The total of the numbers extending around the Bay of Quinte was ten. For many years the townships were spoken of by the settlers as First Town, Second Town, Third Town, etc. The Fourth Township, which claims our attention to-day, was surveyed in 1784.

On account of the configuration of the bay, and the limit of the township, on the east the quantity of land to form the township was only about 11,459 acres, making it the smallest township in the Province of Ontario.

It is almost surrounded by water, which to the pioneer settlers was a great advantage. Their only mode of travelling was by boat in summer and over the ice in winter, the land being as yet an unbroken wilderness.

The First Township was named King's Town after King George III. The Second Township was called Ernest Town, after Ernest Augustus, the eighth child of the King. The third Township received the name of Frederick's Town, after Frederick, Duke of York and Albany, the second child of the King; afterwards the name was modified into Fredericksburg. The Fourth Township was called Adolphus Town, after Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge, tenth child of King George III.

The original settlers of Adolphustown were a band of one of the noblest class of mankind the world has ever possessed—the United Empire Loyalists of America. Their moral worth, heroic sacrifices, and sublime devotion to national duty were ignored by history, and all but forgotten for one hundred years. Let us now present to this meeting a pen picture, taken from real life, of two centuries ago, with the view of exhibiting the character and the moral fibre which was inherited by the men and women

who first planted the modest homesteads in the brave little Township of Adolphus.

Some two hundred years ago, at a seaport town in Holland was to be seen on a certain day a sea-going vessel, around which were the usual activity and bustle incident to the final preparations for a voyage. As the work of taking in supplies and putting the ship in sailing order was going on, a somewhat motley crowd of on-lookers regarded the scene with a lazy, listless air of indifference.

Suddenly the attention of all was quickened by a remarkable occurrence. The doleful tolling of a church bell, heard now and again above the din of numerous voices, had passed unheeded by those collected on the spot. Now, however, as there appears a procession, slowly wending its way toward the place, the solemn peals suggest funeral thoughts. Leading the procession walks a venerable looking man, whose garb and mien betoken a dominie, or minister of the Gospel. After him came next a young couple, the man in the prime of vigorous manhood, and the woman in the fresh bloom of womanhood, walking hand in hand. They are clothed in holiday attire, having the appearance of a newly wedded husband and wife. Following them a man and woman whose grey heads and bent forms bespeak advanced years. Next another couple also in the decline of life.

They walk two and two, men and women, boys and girls, of all ages. They all wear the habiliments of woe, and the procession moves with slow and solemn tread, as if following a loved one to the grave. All that seems wanting to complete a funeral train is a hearse with its nodding plumes. The spectators hushed to silence, gaze on the line of mourners, and wonder and watch to see its course and destination.

With measured steps the dominie is followed to the vessel, and over its side they gather in a group upon the deck, around the young man and wife. A silence falls upon the assembled group, as the man of God opens the Bible, and reads from the inspired book such words as give comfort and support to those who are bereaved. Then his voice is raised in prayer to God, and his prayer reveals to all who hear the cause and reason of this strange scene. First he prays that the aged parents of the young couple may have Divine help in this their hour of trial in losing their dear children, and that they might still be happy in their earthly pilgrimage, and be received hereafter into God's Kingdom, and re-united to their children. He then commits to Him who controls the wind and waves, the young emigrants, he implores that they may be in His gracious care and keeping, these dear ones who to-day set out at once on the journey of married life, and to cross the wide ocean, parting forever from their parents and friends, and who are, as it were, to be buried in the far off New World. Words of counsel follow to the young pair,

sympathy to the parents of each is duly given. Finally, amid emotions which cannot be depicted, the mourners tear themselves away from the voyagers, who cling to each other in this hour of sore trial. The sorrowing parents have looked upon their children for the last time; they in turn shall see their parents' faces no more in this world.

This, as has been already stated, is a picture from real life. Having determined to seek a new home in America, this young man and woman knew in making their choice, that they would leave parents and homes with no possibility of seeing them again. Crossing the Atlantic then was a very different matter from what it is to-day, with rapid steam navigation. The name these young emigrants bore is one well-known in Adolphustown. Amongst those who composed the first party of settlers were descendants of the brave pair, who, a hundred years before, had set sail from the shores of Holland to become pioneers in America. This true story was often related to the writer by his mother, one of the descendants.

Many nations of Europe contributed equally bold and intrepid men and women to people the Atlantic coast of this continent. England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, Germany and Holland gave of their most vigorous sons; and the emigrants of France formed a rich quota to lay the foundation of the different colonies and subsequently of Upper Canada.

It is not the object of this paper to show how it was that the founders of Upper Canada became U. E. Loyalists and exiles from their homes. The great struggle between patriotism and rebellion had resulted in the triumph of the latter. Hostilities ceased Jan. 20th, 1783, and independence of the United States was finally acknowledged by Great Britain, Sept. 3rd following. At this period, although the majority of the Loyalists had left the rebel states, a certain number still remained in those places yet held by British troops, as at New York, where they remained until Nov. 25th, known as "Emancipation day." These Loyalists were distributed to the most available places in the loyal British provinces, and sent thereto in ships under military guidance and protection. Our party was formed under Captain Michael Grass, and despatched to Cataraqui, where they became the first settlers.

Another party was commanded by Major VanAlstine. Although duly commissioned as Major, he was not a military man, but a prominent Knickerbocker Loyalist. A fleet of seven sail, protected by the brig *Hope* of forty guns, set sail for Canada, Sept. 8th 1783, under the leadership of VanAlstine. These refugees were provided with canvas tents and such implements as were given to disbanded soldiers, and a bateau to every four families. After arriving at the place of destination, they were supplied with provisions to be continued for three years. The

company was mostly from the counties of Rockland, Orange and Ulster, on the west side of the Hudson River, and Westchester, Dutchess and Columbia on the east side. The fleet reached Quebec October 8th, having made the run in just one month. The government rations with which they were supplied consisted, as the story has been told the writer, of pork and peas for breakfast, peas and pork for dinner, and for supper they had the choice of peas *or* pork. The party proceeded from Quebec to Sorel, where they passed the winter, inhabiting their canvas tents, which afforded but little protection from the winter's cold. During the winter it was decided to grant Major Van Alstine's party the Fourth Township, about to be surveyed on the Bay of Quinte. The company left Sorel May 21st 1784, in a brigade of bateaux, and reached their destination June 16th 1784. The names of those composing the party, so far available were:—VanAlstine, Ruttan, Huycksbelleau, Maybee, Coles, Sherman, Ballis, Peterson, Loyst, VanSkiver, Dorland, Van Horn, VanDusen, Hagerman, Angle, Huff, Beagle, Roblin, Fitzgerald, Stout, Allan, Hover, Ferguson, Baker, German, Rutler, Noxen, Casey, Clapp, Rutlidge, Barker. A number of the families had two or more brothers besides women and children. Amongst the first settlers who came in later were Munroe, Canniff, Hagler, Carnahan, Short, Fisher. The devoted band of refugee Loyalists had reached the spot whereon they were to work out their future existence. Upon the sloping banks of a small stream, a little westward of the present wharf, they disembarked, and beneath the primeval trees, pitched their tents. The survey having been completed, no time was lost in locating the future home of each. This was done by ballot, each receiving 200 acres, and besides one lot in a plot of 300 acres which was set apart for a village.

It is not possible in this paper to follow this interesting community in their subsequent doings in the erection of the log cabin, the clearing the land of the stately trees, the preparation of the ground for planting and sowing seed, or to refer even to the hardships endured during the following years. They had been able to bring with them but few articles besides clothing, necessary for the comforts of the living. Rude was the furniture, and altogether inadequate the implements supplied by government for the work of the pioneer, but they helped and encouraged each other with resolute wills and determination to succeed; and succeed they did. And living as most of them did to a good old age, they saw in time a life of toil and hardship crowned with comfort and prosperity, and died leaving to their children a rich heritage.

The time came when Adolphustown was almost the centre of Upper Canada. It is true Kingston was the great

point to which the military and naval forces centred, which gave that place a status that it could not otherwise have obtained. But Adolphustown was really the centre of the settlements in the central part of Canada, the midland district, consequently the law court was alternately held at Kingston and the Fourth Town, twice a year in each place. The first court in Adolphustown was held in the barn of Paul Huff, which served the purpose in summer. The next occasion was in winter, and some other building had to be procured. Application was made for the Methodist chapel. It was stated that some objection was made on the ground that a "house of God should not be made a den of thieves," referring, of course, to the prisoners, not to the legal gentlemen; but, notwithstanding, the chapel was readily granted for the second court held in Adolphustown. Subsequently a court house was erected by subscription of the inhabitants. The building of the court house was followed by the growth of a village, and amongst its population were some individuals whose names became household words in every Canadian home. Adolphustown continued a place of importance for many years, and even after court ceased to be held, the village, by virtue of its situation and the standing of some of its inhabitants, remained for a long time a place of no small repute.

Adolphustown contributed during the first years of Upper Canada not a few worthy and noted individuals to the public service and welfare of the country. Indeed, this, the smallest of the townships, took the lead for many years in political, as well as other general matters relating to the country. At one general election four representatives were chosen from Adolphustown, namely, two Hagermans, Daniel and Christopher, Samuel Casey and Paul Peterson. Amongst others in Adolphustown who in the early days of the province were elected to Parliament were Thomas Dorland, John Roblin, Dr. Willet Dorland, Willet Casey, Henry Ruttan, Samuel Casey, David Roblin, and John P. Roblin. The most noted name amongst these was that of Hagerman. Nicholas Hagerman, who accompanied VanAlstine, was a man of liberal education, and it was said had studied law in New York; at all events he was one of the first lawyers to be appointed by the Crown in Upper Canada. He continued to live and practice law at Adolphustown until his death. He had three sons, Daniel, Christopher and Joseph, and two daughters. The writer's parents attended school with the Hagerman children for many years and have often been heard to speak especially of "Chris," who was a "saucy boy," and it may be mentioned that Chris did not forget his old schoolmates in after years when he wore the ermine. Whenever he visited Belleville to preside at the Court he would make them a visit.

Christopher Hagerman was a talented son of Canada, and as a

U. E. Loyalist stood next to Chief Justice Robinson as one who graced the Bar and adorned the Bench. He was a pupil in Dr. Strachan's famous school, and studied law with his father and in the office of Mr. McLean at Kingston. At the commencement of the War of 1812 he was a lieutenant in Captain Dorland's company from Adolphustown on duty at Kingston. Shortly after he was chosen aide-de-camp to the Governor-General. Henceforward his preferment was steady, his services being distinguished.

At the close of the war, the official gazette of Sept. 15th 1815, announced the appointment of Christopher Alexander Hagerman, Barrister-at-law, to Her Majesty's Council in and for the Province of Upper Canada. The subsequent career of this distinguished Canadian is sufficiently known to require no further attention in this paper.

In referring to persons of note who were proud to claim Adolphustown as the home of their youthful days, Canada's greatest statesman must not be omitted. The Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald, although not born in the place, passed his juvenile years there, and attended the common school at Adolphustown. John A. was a lively boy in those days, and the writer has often heard his father relate amusing accounts of the boyish pranks played by the lad with raven locks and piercing merry eye. Adolphustown was never forgotten by Sir John; it had a warm place in his heart, and was always spoken of when the writer chanced to meet him, when he would declare himself to be a "Bay Canty Boy."

There is not much, if any, space to say anything regarding Adolphustown in recent days; but reference should be made to the noted "lake on the mountain" opposite Adolphustown, in Marysburg, at first known as Fifth Town. Upon the prominently high shore close to the brink is a considerable body of water. VanAlstine received from the Government here a tract of land containing 437 acres, including this lake, in 1796, which for the time was known as "VanAlstine's Lake." The surplus water flowed over the cliff to the Bay of Quinte, forming a beautiful cascade. But the needs of the settlers were of greater consideration than natural beauty. VanAlstine proceeded to cut a canal down the side of the hill to the waters of the Bay, and at the bottom built a flouring mill, the machinery of which was driven by the water coursing down the cut channel. This mill was a great boon to the inhabitants for many miles on every side.

Rogers—Ranger and Loyalist.

BY WALTER ROGERS, B.A., BARRISTER, INNER TEMPLE, LONDON, ENG

Read before the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario, at Toronto, 14th December, 1899, by Lt.-Col. H. C. Rogers of Peterborough, Ontario.

The somewhat tardy justice which has been done to the memory of the Loyalists of the American Revolution, although not, perhaps, directly attributable to the spirit of imperialism now afoot, has, in point of time, coincided not inappropriately with that movement.

In his monumental work on the history of England in the eighteenth century, Mr. Lecky's estimate of the character and position of the so-called Tories in the revolted colonies, has found a sufficiently ungrudging echo in the pages of not a few recent historical writers on this continent. In truth, Mr. Lecky's contention, "that the Loyalists to a great extent sprang from and represented the old gentry of the country," could, in the light of modern research, hardly be denied. American scholars of the type of Professor Hosmer of Washington, and Professor Tyler of Cornell, have amply, indeed generously, recognized this fact. It is to be regretted that the results of a century of misrepresentation concerning the Loyalists are still reflected in the tone of the more popular works on history disseminated in the United States. It was, perhaps, to be expected that the representatives of a beaten cause could hardly look for panegyric at the hands of the owners of the confiscated property and their immediate descendants. The great migration which ensued upon the rebellion, has been more than once compared, both in the magnitude of its scale and the pathos of its circumstances, with the Huguenot exodus from France a century earlier.

The efforts of this and of other kindred societies in the Dominion, should do much towards supplying material for future students of the inner history of the Loyalist migration. A few facts drawn, in so far as they are new, from documentary sources in the British Museum,* and from the War Office Correspondence† now preserved at the Record Office in London, may possibly prove not uninteresting, as a humble contribution towards the better understanding of the circumstances which attended the early settlement of part of this Province.

The founder of my own family in Upper Canada was my great-great-grandfather, Col. James Rogers. During the revolu-

* Brit. Mus : Add. MSS.—21,820. Haldimand Papers : Correspondence with Col. Rogers and Major Rogers.

† War Office, Original Correspondence, No. 5 : Rogers' King's Rangers — Field Officers' Papers—1779-1784.

tionary war he had served for five years as commandant of a corps known as the King's Rangers, which, during that time, formed part of the garrison of St. Johns, Quebec. This post commanded the northern outlet of the great waterway which connects the valley of the Hudson with that of the St. Lawrence. At the Peace, my ancestor settled with some two hundred of his disbanded soldiers upon the shores of the Bay of Quinte, he and his followers occupying what is known as the township of Fredricksburg, (as well as part of an adjoining township).*

The earliest recorded connection of this officer with Canada, however, dates from a quarter of a century earlier than the settlement. Of that part of the so-called Seven Years' War which was waged upon this continent, he saw service from the commencement to the close.†

As a captain in command of a detachment of his more famous brother, Robert Rogers' regiment—serving, however, independently of the main body—he took part in the campaigns in Cape Breton and Canada, under Wolfe and Amherst. He was present at the successive captures of Louisbourg, Quebec, and Montreal; the steps by which Canada passed from French to English rule.

Before Montreal, the army of the St. Lawrence, in which he was acting, was joined by the forces from the south, in whose campaigns the main body of Rogers' Rangers, eight hundred strong, under the command of his brother Robert, had played a somewhat conspicuous part.

Upon the capitulation of Montreal and the cession of Canada, this latter officer was despatched by the commander-in-chief upon the first British expedition, as such, up the great lakes. With two hundred of his rangers and a staff of executive officers, Robert Rogers made the voyage, in whaleboats, from Montreal to Detroit. The successive French posts upon the route were visited; the white standard of the Bourbons was replaced by the flag of Great Britain, and allegiance to His Britannic Majesty exacted.

The story of this voyage has often been told, notably in the Major's own military journals published in London in 1765, a work, which, with its companion volume, an account of North America, betraying an intimate knowledge of the continent from Labrador to the mouth of the Mississippi, has ever since been regarded as a valuable authority upon the geographical history of this country.

With the early and more brilliant part of the career of Robert Rogers, whose exploits as a partisan or light-infantry officer fill a large space in the history of the French and Pontiac Wars, we are not here immediately concerned. He has been the object of enthusiastic praise and of no less virulent detraction.

*Canniff page 62.

† Haldimand MSS., J. R. to Haldimand, Oct. 20th, 1779.



MAJOR ROBERT ROGERS.

It is, however, a source of what, I trust, you will not regard as altogether unpardonable pride to my family and myself, that one of our name should have been thus intimately concerned in a transaction which was virtually the inception, as part of the British Dominions, of what is now the Province of Ontario,—a province which, from its earliest settlement, has been our home.

The interval between the close of the Seven Years' War, or, rather, of the Pontiac War, in which he also bore a part, and the revolt of the Colonies, was occupied by my great-great-grandfather, James Rogers, in the building up of an estate in that part of the Province of New York which was subsequently erected into the State of Vermont. Partly by grant as a reward for his services, and partly by purchase, he acquired what was, in extent, a very considerable property, scattered from twenty miles west of the Connecticut River to the shores of Lake Champlain. The crown patent for some 22,000 acres of this estate in Windham County is still in the possession of the family. We know from a letter in the Haldimand Correspondence, dated 1780, that the value he placed upon his property in the colonies was between thirty and forty thousand pounds.* Frequent references in the same correspondence show that the position he had occupied in Vermont, previously to the revolution, was one of influence and authority. The respect in which he was held in the country that had formerly been his home, is testified to by the fact that even after the Peace, viz.: in the spring of 1784, he had been invited by the leading men of the State to pay a visit to Vermont in order to facilitate the removal of his wife and family to their new home in the British Dominions.

Notwithstanding the efforts of his friends, the reception which he met with was not unmingled with insult at the hands of the owners of the confiscated property, who now grasped the helm; and the good man's surprise and horror at the state of anarchy prevailing are depicted in his letter to the commander-in-chief on his return to his regiment at St. Johns.

Between the close of the French and Indian Wars, and until after the outbreak of the American revolution, the other brother, Robert Rogers, spent most of his time in England. Here his various books were published† and here he enjoyed a very considerable notoriety. In old magazines of the period, amidst chronicles

* The picture which Sir George Trevelyan has drawn, in his recent volume on the American revolution, of the Utopian condition of colonial society in the days immediately preceding the rebellion, although perhaps too highly coloured, is not without considerable foundation in fact. The strong pro-American tone of the volume is perhaps only what was to be expected from the nephew of Macaulay and from the depositary *par excellence* of the Whig tradition.

† Journals of Major Robert Rogers—London, 1765, 8vo

A Concise Account of North America by Major Robert Rogers. London, 1765, 8vo Dublin, 1770, 12mo.

Ponteach—A Tragedy—London, 1776.

of the time, his exploits and his books find frequent mention.* The story of his prowess in the single-handed capture of a highwayman went the round of the taverns. His portrait in full Ranger uniform, with Indians in the background, adorned the windows of the print-shops, and was even reproduced in Germany. His tall figure, in half-pay officer's uniform, became a not unfamiliar object in the Court quarter of the town. He undoubtedly enjoyed the patronage and favour of the King. One of his enemies writing in 1770 to Sir William Johnson, complains that "Robert Rogers has the ear of the court; that many of the great are pushing for him; and that Mr. Fitzherbert, an officer high in the household of George III., is his particular friend."† Indeed, to the end he seems to have enjoyed the not entirely unequivocal distinction of King George's approbation. Lord George Germaine, writing to Gen. Howe as late as 1776, says, "The King approves the arrangement you propose, in respect to an adjutant-general and a quartermaster-general, and also your attention to Major Rogers, of whose firmness and fidelity we have received further testimony from Governor Tryon."‡

George III.'s choice of instruments at this period, notably in the case of Lord George,§ himself, as Secretary for the Colonies, is not generally regarded as betraying exceptional political sagacity.

Notwithstanding the royal favour, which does not seem to have been alienated even by his alleged eccentricity in appearing for a wager, on one occasion, at the King's levee, in the buckskin gaiters worn by rangers during their woodland campaigns. Robert Rogers was probably more at home in the society of soldiers of fortune, where his prowess as a boon companion and *raconteur* was doubtless popular.

In 1772 we find him writing from his lodgings at Spring Gardens, Charing Cross.|| Soon after that, his superfluous energies found vent in foreign warfare. A true Captain Dalgetty, he fought in Northern Africa in the Algerine service. We know from a letter of Washington's that he was assigned to service in the East Indies,¶ when the outbreak of hostilities in America recalled him to the scene of his earlier activities. That he arrived in America with an open mind is not impossible. Unlike

* Gentleman's Magazine:—1758, Mar, Aug., Oct.; 1760, Nov, Dec.; 1765, Dec.

London Monthly Review, xxxiv-9-22-242.

† Johnson MSS. xviii. 185-186.

‡ American Archives, Fourth Ser., iv. 575.

§ Lord George Germaine, better known by his former name, Lord George Sackville, was the officer who, in command of the English cavalry at Minden, in a fit of spleen refused to charge and so marred the completeness of Prince Ferdinand's victory.

|| Johnson MSS, xxi. 238.

¶ Spark's 'Washington,' iii. 440.

his less brilliant but more substantial brother James, he was probably not the man to suffer gladly for a principle.

The conduct of the rebels, however, forced him prematurely into the service which would, probably, in any event have ultimately claimed him. Arrested shortly after his landing at Philadelphia, by order of the Pennsylvania Committee of Public Safety, he was submitted to the disposal of Congress. This body ordered his release on parole. His position as a half-pay officer, however, and his long identification with the royal service attracted the suspicion of the more violent Whigs, who clamoured for his re-arrest, which was ultimately decided upon. The indignity of this second arrest was treated by him as a virtual release from his parole. Consigned by the Continental Congress as a prisoner to be dealt with by the New Hampshire Assembly, he was fortunate enough to effect his escape. Received within the English lines, he was offered by the commander-in-chief, Gen. Howe, the commission of colonel in the British service, which offer he accepted.

With remarkable celerity he succeeded in raising the regiment so honourably known in the history of the revolution as the Queen's Rangers. This corps, to which very frequent reference has been made in the transactions of this Society, played, under his successor in the command, Colonel, afterwards Lieut.-General, Simcoe, a conspicuous part in the war, and subsequently, in the settlement of Upper Canada. Broken in health and possibly enfeebled by a life of dissipation, a tendency to which seems to have been his real moral weakness, he retired from his command in the following winter and returned to England. The evil example of dissipation and high play set at the headquarters camp between Bedford and Amboy, in the winter of 1776-77, was not without its effect upon the morale of the army. Bancroft even attributes the failure to crush Washington at Valley Forge in the following winter, to the eager pursuit of pleasure which distinguished Howe's command.

Meanwhile the Revolution ran its course. The singular incapacity which marked the conduct of the English arms almost throughout, was responsible for reverse after reverse. Spasmodic efforts to reinforce the army in America were made, and as the result of one of these, Robert Rogers arrived at New York in 1779 with instructions from home that he was to be again employed.

On May 1st 1779, he was commissioned by Sir Henry Clinton, Howe's successor in the command-in-chief, to raise a regiment of two battalions to be known as the King's Rangers. One battalion seems to have been destined for service in the Province of Quebec; the other for Halifax. In this regiment his brother James was gazetted major. A document in the War Office Correspondence shows that James Rogers's appoint-

ment dated June 2nd 1779, although there was a still earlier commission to the same rank dated May 1st 1778. Recruiting parties were sent out into the northern colonies, and a ship was chartered by government for the conveyance to Quebec of Major James Rogers and eleven officers* gazetted to the new corps. This vessel, the brigantine "Hawke,"—Capt. Slaitor,—arrived at Quebec in September 1779. The colonel, Robert Rogers, with a staff of officers, was conveyed in H.M.S. "Blond" to Penobscot. There he was present at the naval engagement in which the rebel fleet was destroyed, August 13th 1779.

Meanwhile, with the accustomed mismanagement at headquarters, no definite instructions were sent to General Haldimand, Commander-in-chief in Canada, as to the embodiment of the new corps. So early as May 24th 1779, Lord Rawdon,—afterwards Lord Hastings, Governor-General of India,—then acting as Adjutant-General to Clinton, wrote to Haldimand, indicating the probable appearance of Col. Robert Rogers within the latter's command. With official dread of exceeding his instructions, and fearful of provoking animosities regarding recruiting in the other corps in the province, Haldimand hesitated how to act.

Meanwhile, the numerous recruits coming in by the overland route, consigned to the King's Rangers, had to be subsisted as best they might out of the unfortunate major's own pocket. Ultimately, however, and upon his own authority, Haldimand placed the corps upon his own establishment. A scale of half-pay was arranged, and the Rangers were clothed in the regulation green uniforms of the provincial corps. From this time forward the King's Rangers garrisoned the post of St. Johns, sharing the barracks there at first with the 34th and, subsequently, with the 29th regiments of foot. †

The correspondence of James Rogers with the commander-in-chief in Canada, from 1779 to 1784, is still preserved in the British Museum, and, together with fugitive letters of Robert Rogers, fills a substantial folio volume of manuscript. The "Field Officers' Letters of Rogers' King's Rangers" are in the Record Office, London, removed there from the War Office Archives. The light

*Most of these were from one or other of the five battalions of Gen. Skinner's brigade. Two are described as from the Queen's Rangers.

†The army in Canada in 1781 consisted of the following troops: The 8th, 29th, 31st, 34th, 44th, 53rd. 150 men of the 47th, a battalion of the 84th or Maclean's Highland Emigrants, Sir John Johnson's Royal Regiment, of New York, Jessup's Loyal Rangers, formerly the Loyal Americans, and Rogers' King's Rangers. In addition to the above were the German troops, consisting chiefly of Brunswickers and Hessians. General Riedesel, in a plan communicated to Clinton, about this time, for operations against the Ohio and Alleghany regions, estimates the total effective strength in Canada at 6000 men.—*Max Von Eckling's Memoir of Major General Riedesel.*

which these old documents throw upon the military history of the time is a curious one. The chief difficulties in the administration of the corps seem to have arisen concerning the matter of recruiting and the intermingling of the accounts with those of Halifax, where the other detachment of the regiment was stationed. For the rest, James Rogers's relations with his commander-in-chief are excellent. Repeated testimony to the confidence felt in his integrity at headquarters occurs in the correspondence. His long apprenticeship to warfare, his intimate knowledge of the country, and undoubted zeal for the King's service contributed to his usefulness at this frontier post. Various schemes of reconnaissance and attack were, from time to time, submitted by him for his Excellency's consideration, and approved. His advice is asked and taken. On more than one occasion he seems to have been employed, where a field officer's services were demanded, upon missions of delicacy and importance. The growing despondency as to the issue of the war is apparent as time goes on. Incredulity as to the truth of the surrender at Yorktown is succeeded by consternation when the news of the disaster is confirmed. At last, in November 1783, the King's order for the disbanding of the loyalist troops arrives. It is accompanied by extracts from Lord North's letters respecting the allotment of lands to the provincial troops and refugee loyalists then in the Province of Quebec.

Throughout the winter of 1783-84, preparations are made for the move westward in the following year. In the early spring, my great-great-grandfather paid that last visit to his former home, allusion to which has been made above. His wife, a daughter of the Rev. David McGregor of Londonderry, N.H.,* accompanied him on his return, to renew in the northern forests that life of exile which had been the lot of her family earlier in the century. Upon his return to St. Johns, leave is asked on behalf of a number of incorporated and unincorporated loyalists, that an officer of the King's Rangers and a detachment of ten or a dozen men may go to Cataraqui to reconnoitre. A pathetic touch, betraying the ignorance and bewilderment of those distracted times, occurs, where the commanding officer notifies the commander-in-chief of a report which he had come upon "amongst our common men, that the major was going to have them taken to Cataraqui and there made slaves." Notwithstanding this alarming suggestion, confidence seems to have been restored; and most of the King's Rangers accompanied their old commander in that heroic advance into the wilderness, in search of a new home. Several of the officers remained at St. Johns, buying the ground on which their late barracks stood.

The tale of how the final allotment of the territory in the

*See History of Londonderry.

Frontenac district was made, is set out in Grass's narrative,* preserved by Dr. Ryerson. Grass, the pioneer of the district, chose the first township for his followers, Kingston; Sir John Johnson, the second, Ernesttown; Col. Rogers, the third, Fredericksburg; Major Vanalstine, the fourth, Adolphustown; and Col. McDonell and his company, the fifth, Marysburgh; "and so after this manner the first settlement of loyalists in Canada was made."

In the pages of Canniff's work upon the "Settlement of Upper Canada"† is preserved a story told by the late Dr. Armstrong, whose recollections dated back to the closing years of the eighteenth century. He remembered to have seen as a child, at my great-great-grandfather's house at Fredericksburg, a quantity of old implements of war: broken firelocks, torn uniforms, and cannon-balls. Not a few relics of the soldier settlement still exist in the family, in the shape of rusty small-arms, obsolete powder-horns and flint lock pistols.

James Rogers passed away in the year 1792. His brother Robert had died in England eight years previously, and shortly after the close of the war.‡

My great-great-grandfather was succeeded in his position in the settlement by his son, David McGregor Rogers, my great-grandfather, who, for twenty-four years, represented his district in the early Houses of Assembly of Upper Canada.§

A recently recovered copy of the journal of the House of Assembly for 1801, which had been lost at the sacking of York, now Toronto, in 1813, records how after the House had met and the members subscribed the oath, a message was delivered by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. A brief and formal speech by His Excellency followed. Then:

"David M. Rogers, Esquire, Knight representing the Counties of Hastings and Northumberland, stood up, and addressing himself to the clerk (who, standing up, pointed to him and then sat down) proposed to the House, for their speaker, the Honourable D. W. Smith, Esquire, in which motion he was seconded by the Hon. Henry Allcock, Esquire, one of the judges of the Court of King's Bench, Knight representing the counties of Durham, Simcoe and the East Riding of York." The motion was carried, the new

*Ryerson's "Loyalists of British America," Vol. II, p. 211.

†Page 118.

‡I have followed here the family tradition as to the date of Robert Rogers's death. This places it in 1784. The writer of the article upon the life of Robert Rogers in the "Dictionary of National Biography"—London, 1897—places it in 1800, but in this he has followed Hough who, in his turn, evidently followed Sabine in the matter. There is no trace of his having lived after 1784, and everything, including the story in his family, points to his having died soon after his return from Halifax.

§See Morgan's "Celebrated Canadians."

Speaker expressing "his gratitude for the honour," and "thereupon he sat down in the chair." The House then adjourned.

David McGregor Rogers seems to have been a man of considerable force of character, uniting as he did the blood of his soldier-father with that of the Highland outlaws, which he owed to his mother, whose name he bore as part of his own. On one occasion he is said to have slain a wolf, the marauding tyrant of the district, with his oaken walking-stick. As a lad he had taken part in the migration, and upon his return to St. Johns years afterwards, he was invested with the dignity of an honorary chieftainship by the local Indians. He died at Grafton, Ontario, in 1824, while still a member of the House of Assembly.

In the foregoing attempt to tender a small act of piety to the memory of my great-great-grandfather and of justice to that of his gifted, but erratic brother, I trust that I have not too far trespassed upon your forbearance.

In the recrudescence of the spirit of imperial expansion with which we are familiar to-day, it is a not unsatisfactory reflection for us, the offspring of the loyalists, that it was for an ideal which at present animates so large a section of the Anglo-Saxon race, that our ancestors were ready, more than a century ago, to sacrifice all that seemed to make life valuable.

What that ideal was has perhaps never been better formulated than in the words of the historian Lecky: "It was the maintenance of one free industrial and pacific empire comprising the whole English race, holding the richest plains of Asia in subjection, blending all that was most venerable in an ancient civilization with the redundant energies of a youthful society, and likely in a few generations to outstrip every competitor and acquire an indisputable ascendancy in the globe."

"Such an ideal," he adds, in words which have been before now quoted before this society, "may have been a dream, but it was at least a noble one, and there were Americans who were prepared to make any personal sacrifice rather than assist in destroying it."

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Miss Grace Cawthra, c
Yeadon Hall.
Victor Cawthra, c
Yeadon Hall.
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131 Beverley St.
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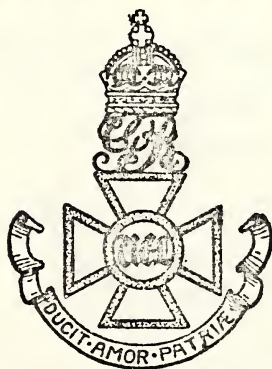
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LOYALISTS'
ASSOCIATION

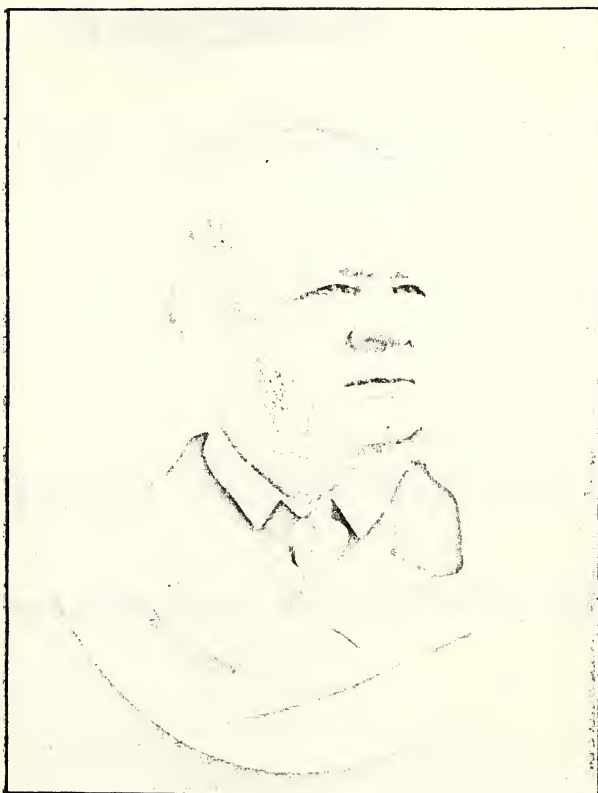
VOL.



IV.

ANNUAL
TRANSACTIONS

1901 AND 1902.



HON. JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON.
First President of U.E.L. Association.—1896.

The
United Empire Loyalists'
Association
OF ONTARIO.

Annual Transactions.

For the years ending March, 1901, and March, 1902.

Toronto:
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The United Empire Loyalists' Association.

"United Empire Loyalists" are "those persons who remained faithful to the British Crown during and after the revolutionary war in America," or, to be more precise, 1—"the families who adhered to the Unity of the Empire and joined the Royal Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783." [*Order in Council passed at Quebec, 9th November, 1789*].

2.—"Those who, both at and after the revolution, were, in consequence of their loyalty, driven out of the revolted States, or found continued residence in those States to be intolerable by reason of the persecutions to which they were subjected, or voluntarily withdrew therefrom in order to reside under the flag to which they desired that they and their children should remain forever loyal;" and 3, "Their posterity." [*Order in Council above referred to*]

The eldest or adult members of United Empire Loyalist families who settled in Canada, for the most part passed away in the next few succeeding years after their arrival.

It was their sons mainly who preserved this country to the British Crown in the War of 1812-14.

The grandchildren of the original U. E. Loyalists are becoming fewer in number year by year. The fourth generation are the men and women of the present day.

The descendants of the U. E. Loyalists are now widely dispersed; some are building up new provinces in what but a few years ago was the illimitable wilderness of the North-West, whilst others are scattered throughout the world.

Some few (a very few, it is to be feared), still retain the original homestead granted by the Crown to their forefathers.

But few records of the first U. E. Loyalists, their previous homes and histories, their individual experiences, and the circum-

stances attending their settlement in Canada, having been preserved by their families, so far as is known, such things being gradually dispersed and lost in various ways, it was felt that unless some systematic effort was made to gather together the fragments which might yet be found, every trace of them would in time be lost, excepting such as are fortunately preserved in the public archives—and which are for the most part meagre and inadequate fitly to represent and illustrate the inner life, if such an expression may be used, of the U. E. Loyalist emigration as an historical event without precedent or parallel.

With the object, therefore, of organizing the means of preserving such historic records, with also that of keeping bright the spirit of loyalty in the inheritors of so noble an ancestry, the formation of this association was resolved upon, and the initial steps toward that end were taken at a meeting called by Mr. William Hamilton Merritt and others, and held in the Canadian Institute, February 28th, 1896.

Mr. Allan McLean Howard was appointed Chairman, and Mr. Merritt, Secretary *pro tem*.

The following Committee was also appointed to draft a Constitution :

Mr. McLean Howard, Mr. Merritt, Mrs. Hicks, Miss Merritt, Mr. S. C. Biggs, Mr. H. H. Cook, Lt.-Col. George A. Shaw, Mr. Charles E. Ryerson, and Dr. George S. Ryerson, and thus was formed "The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario," the first general meeting of which was held at the same place May 11th, 1896. The Honourable John Beverley Robinson was unanimously elected President, and Mr. William Hamilton Merritt, Secretary. Much was expected from Mr. Robinson in this position, because of the prominence of his official and social position, his long experience of public life, and because he was known to be well versed in matters appertaining to the early history of this country, and took a keen interest in everything connected therewith. But it was otherwise ordered, and under circumstances of an almost tragic nature, whilst preparing to speak at a great public meeting, Mr. Robinson died, June 19th, 1896. In him the Association lost an unselfish and patriotic friend, and an eminent President. Dr. George Sterling Ryerson was elected President in his place, and continued in office until March, 1898, when he was succeeded by Mr. Herman Henry Cook, who has held the office to the present time.

An interesting circumstance connected with the formation of the Association and the election of its officers is worthy of special mention. It was ascertained that at this late date, one hundred and thirteen years after the close of the revolutionary war, there still survived several sons and daughters of U. E. Loyalists who served in that war. It was felt that the Association would be honouring itself by appropriately recognizing these men and women, and they were accordingly elected honorary vice-presidents of the Association.

A branch of the U. E. Loyalists' Association was formed at Virgil, of which Capt. John D. Servos is the President.

It has been decided that the Six Nation Indians of the Grand River and Tyendinaga (Bay of Quinte) Reserves, whose migration to Canada was under the same circumstances, and simultaneous with that of the U. E. Loyalists, should be considered as branch associations. Chief Jacob Salem Johnson, Kahnnonkwenyah, of the former, and Chief Samson Green, Annosothkah, of the latter, have been elected honorary vice-presidents as representatives in each case of such branches, and presented by the general association with commemorative silver medals to be worn by them and their successors in office.

The Association is not only non-political, as its constitution declares, but it is also wholly untrammelled by social considerations, and differs from the principal hereditary or historical associations elsewhere, in that it makes no requirement of social status as a condition of membership.

The constitution and by-laws as now printed, embracing certain further amendments since made were revised in April, 1897, by a special committee consisting of the President, Dr. Ryerson; the Vice-President, Mr. Allan McLean Howard; the Secretary, Mr. William Hamilton Merritt; the Honorary Legal Adviser, Mr. E. M. Chadwick; the Executive Committee; Messrs. H. H. Cook, Stephen M. Jarvis, Eugene A. Maclaurin, Charles E. Ryerson, Lt.-Col. Shaw, the Rev. W. S. Ball, the Rev. C. E. Thomson, and Mr. William Roaf.

The Order in Council above referred to is as follows:—

Whereas it is recorded that at the Council Chamber at Quebec on Monday, 9th November, 1789, His Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Dorchester intimated to the Council that it was his wish to put a mark of honour upon the families who had adhered to the unity of the Empire, and joined the Royal

Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783, the Council concurring with His Lordship, it is accordingly ordered, "That the several Land Boards take course for preserving a registry of the names of all persons falling under the description aforementioned, to the end that their posterity may be discriminated from the future settlers, in the parish registers and rolls of the militia of their respective districts and other public remembrances of the Provinces, as proper objects, by their persevering in the fidelity and conduct so honourable in their ancestors, for distinguished benefits and privileges."

Constitution and By-Laws.

Name and Chief Seat.

I. The organization shall be known as the "United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario," hereinafter referred to as the General Association, and its chief seat shall be at Toronto.

Branches.

II. Branches of the Association may be established at any place in the Province of Ontario, where in the opinion of the Executive Committee, it is deemed advisable, and the President of such branch shall be *ex-officio* a Vice-President of the General Association.

The Officers of a branch shall be a President, Secretary-Treasurer and Executive Committee of five members, provided that branches may also choose an Honorary President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Assistant Secretary, an Executive Committee of six members, and a Ladies Committee of not more than twelve. The presiding officer of the Ladies Committee may also be a member of the Executive Committee.

Such sections of the Constitution as may be applicable to branches shall have full force and virtue therein. Branches may make By-Laws not inconsistent with this Constitution.

Members of such branches shall be entitled to the same privileges as Associate Members of the General Association.

Objects.

III. The objects of the Association shall be :—

(a) To unite together, irrespective of creed or political party, the descendants of those families who, during the American Revolutionary War of 1775 to 1783, sacrificed their homes in retaining their loyalty to the British Crown, and to perpetuate this spirit of loyalty to the Empire.

(b) To preserve the history and traditions of that important epoch in Canadian history, by rescuing from oblivion the history and traditions of the Loyalist families before it is too late.

(c) To collect together in a suitable place the portraits, relics, and documents relating to the United Empire Loyalists, which are now scattered throughout the Dominion.

(d) To publish an historical and genealogical journal, or annual transactions.

Qualification of Members.

IV. All persons of either sex resident in Ontario, or in any province or elsewhere where there is no United Empire Loyalist Association, who can trace their lineal descent, by either male or female line, from the United Empire Loyalists, shall be eligible for ordinary membership, provided they be persons of good repute and be considered by the Association desirable persons to be admitted to membership. The wives or husbands of ordinary members, who are not otherwise qualified for membership, may be elected Associate members, but are not entitled to vote. Members under the age of 17 are not entitled to vote. Charter members shall be those members who joined prior to and including the regular meeting in April, 1897. They shall have the letter "C" placed after their names on the roll of members.

Members of branches become *ipso facto* Associate Members of the General Association, but will not be entitled to notice of meetings. They may become Ordinary Members on payment of fifty cents to the General Association, after their application has been approved of by the Investigating Committee.

RULING UPON ARTICLE IV.

I. No person coming to Canada from the United States after the year 1796, shall be considered as a U. E. Loyalist ancestor, unless it can be clearly demonstrated that he or she was entitled to be so considered.

II. That the descendants of an officer or soldier belonging to the British Army, stationed in the United States before the breaking out of the War of 1776, who after the War came to Canada in the U. E. Loyalist immigration and there settled, are eligible for membership.

III. That the descendants of an officer or soldier belonging to the British Army who was sent to the United States after the breaking out of the War of 1776, and who came to Canada in the U. E. Loyalist immigration, are eligible for membership.

Election of Members.

V. (a) Application for membership in this Association must be made according to the prescribed form, be signed by the applicant, be recommended by two members, and accompanied by the

annual fee (which shall be returned if the application is withdrawn or the candidate be not elected). This application shall be read to the Association at a regular meeting and be referred to the Investigating Committee, which shall report at a subsequent regular meeting. The fact of such application shall be stated by the Secretary in the call for the next regular meeting.

(b) If the Investigating Committee are satisfied of the qualifications of the candidate in all respects, and their decision is unanimous, the same shall be reported at the next or any subsequent regular meeting of the Association whereupon the candidate shall be declared elected, unless a ballot is called for, which demand may be to the Secretary without signature.

(c) If the Investigating Committee are not satisfied with the evidence of qualification of the member by descent, they shall notify the proposer of such candidate, and request him to furnish further evidence, and the application shall stand in abeyance until the same is furnished to the satisfaction of the Committee. If the Committee or any one member thereof shall be of the opinion that the candidate does not possess the proper qualifications of good repute and of desirability for admission to membership, the Committee shall report the case to the Executive Committee, who, after consulting with the Investigating Committee, shall decide whether to request the proposer to withdraw the name of the candidate or to proceed with the application, and in the latter case the election shall be by ballot.

(d) If a ballot be taken the Chairman of the meeting, the acting Secretary and the Senior Lady present of the Executive Committee shall act as scrutineers. Paper ballots shall be provided, on which the voters shall write "yes" or "no" and deposit the same in the ballot box or other receptacle provided. One negative in five shall exclude.

(e) Any person well and publicly known, being or having been the holder of any public office or position, and being of good repute in all respects, may be elected a member without the usual formalities by the unanimous consent thereto and to the suspension of Rules for that purpose by the members of the Association present at any meeting, provided there be not less than twenty-five members then present.

(f) The Association shall have power by the vote (by ballot) of three-fourths present at a special meeting called for the purpose to expel any member for cause shewn. Provided that he or

she shall previously have been notified of any complaint made or reason advanced rendering the continuance of his or her membership undesirable and shall have been (by the Executive Committee) afforded reasonable opportunity of explanation or refutation of the charge made or reason alleged.

Fees.

VI. The annual membership and associate membership fee shall be one dollar. A family—viz., husband, wife and children residing at home—shall pay two dollars per annum; non-resident membership fee, fifty cents, payable in advance.

The annual fees shall be due on the second Thursday in March in each year.

Any member or associate member being one year in arrear may be struck off the list of members by the Executive Committee.

No member shall be entitled to vote at election of officers who is more than one year in arrear for dues.

Any person eligible may become a life member by paying the sum of \$15, and shall be exempt from further payments.

Officers.

VII. The office-bearers shall consist of a President, five Vice-Presidents, one of whom shall be a lady elected by the Ladies' Committee as their presiding officer, and the Presidents of Branches, who are *ex-officio* Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer, and Assistant Secretary, who may be a lady.

Honorary Vice-Presidents and Members.

VIII. (a) All sons and daughters of United Empire Loyalists now living shall be Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association.

(b) Distinguished men and women, descendants of United Empire Loyalists, non-resident in the Province, may be elected by a majority of those present at a meeting, as Honorary Vice-Presidents; such Vice-Presidents shall not be liable for the annual fee.

(c) Members of the Association, gentlemen or ladies, who, in the opinion of a two-thirds majority of the meeting, have rendered distinguished service to the Association may be elected Honorary Members.

The name of such member or Honorary Vice-President must be proposed and seconded at a regular meeting at least four weeks before the date of election.

The Executive Committee

IX. Shall consist of ten members, three of whom shall be ladies to be elected at the annual meeting, five of whom shall form a quorum, and shall manage the affairs of the Association. The President and Vice-Presidents (actual and *ex-officio*) and Secretary-Treasurer shall be *ex-officio* members of this committee.

The two members of this Executive Committee and the four members of the Ladies' Committee whose names appear first (right and left) in the list shall retire annually, but shall be eligible for re-election at the next following meeting.

The Investigating Committee

X. Shall consist of five members, two of whom shall be ladies, and three of whom shall form a quorum.

The Ladies' Committee

XI. Shall consist of twelve members, five of whom shall form a quorum. They shall arrange all matters submitted to them by the Association or by the Executive Committee, to whom they shall respectively report.

Election of Officers and Committees.

XII. All officers and Standing Committees of the Association shall be elected at the annual meeting, or as soon thereafter as conveniently may be, if for any reason such election cannot take place at the annual meeting. And such officers and Committees shall hold office until the next annual meeting, or until their successors are elected; vacancies occurring during the year may be filled by election as may be required. Special Committees may be appointed at any regular or special general meeting. Where it is not otherwise stated the officers and members of Committees shall be gentlemen.

The Past President shall be an *ex-officio* member of the Executive Committee, and the Past Lady Vice-President shall be an *ex-officio* member of the Ladies' Committee for one year after they cease to hold their offices.

Nominations for all offices and the Standing Committees of the Association shall be made one month prior to the annual meeting. All officers and Standing Committees of the Association shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting, but where only one name for any office, or only the required number to

compose any Standing Committee, have been placed in nomination, a ballot shall not be taken, but the person or persons so nominated shall be declared duly elected.

The President may be re-elected for one additional term, but he cannot retain office for more than two years in succession.

Duties of Officers.

XIII. The President shall be chairman of all meetings at which he shall be present, and in his absence one of the Vice-Presidents shall take the chair.

In the absence of the Vice-Presidents, the members present shall elect a chairman for the meeting.

XIV. The Secretary-Treasurer shall hold in trust the funds of the Association, which shall be deposited in the name of the Association in a bank approved by the Committee. He shall receive all moneys, pay all accounts that are properly certified as correct, and shall present, when required, from time to time a statement of accounts.

XV. The Secretary-Treasurer or the Assistant Secretary shall attend all meetings, shall take the minutes of the proceedings, shall be responsible for the safe custody of all papers, books, and other property, and under the direction of the Executive Committee shall conduct the general business of the Association.

Meetings.

XVI. The annual general meeting for the election of office-bearers, and the transaction of the business of the Association, shall be held in the city of Toronto, on the date of the regular meeting in March in each year.

The regular meetings other than the May and October meetings shall be held on the second Thursday in every month, except during such summer months as may be thought desirable not to meet by the members present at the regular meeting in May. The May meeting shall be held on May 18th, the anniversary of the landing of the Loyalists at St. John, N.B., in 1784, and the October meeting on October 13th, the anniversary of the Battle of Queenston Heights.

Should these anniversaries occur on Sunday, the meeting will be held on the following day.

Meetings may be held at such an hour and place as the Executive Committee appoints, of which due notice shall be sent to every member.

XVII. General meetings other than the regular monthly meetings may be called for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the transaction of business.

The business or subject for discussion shall be specified in the special notice convening such a meeting which shall be sent to every member. Such a special meeting may be called at any time by the President, or in his absence by the Executive Committee.

XVIII. Extraordinary or urgent business may be transacted at any meeting without special notice, when considered absolutely necessary by a three-fourths majority of those present.

XIX. At all general meetings, whether special or annual, fifteen members shall form a quorum.

Papers.

XX. Papers on subjects relating to the objects of the Association, and to cognate subjects, may be read by members, or by others who may be requested to do so, at any regular meeting or any special meeting called for this purpose.

Papers shall not exceed twenty minutes in length, but the time for reading may be extended by vote of the members.

All papers read shall become the property of the Association.

Order of Business.

- XXI. 1. Reading of Minutes.
2. Reading of Correspondence.
3. Passing of Accounts.
4. Propositions for Membership.
5. Reports of Committees.
6. Election to Membership.
7. Notices of Motion.
8. General Business.
9. Election of Officers.
10. Reading of Papers.

Amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws.

XXII. The foregoing Constitution and By-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any meeting, but notice of motion for such amendment must be given at least four weeks previous to the discussion of the same, of which notice the Secretary shall duly inform every member.

ANNUAL REPORT.

MARCH, 1900—MARCH, 1901.

Your Committee beg to report that this Association, now being in the fourth year since its formation, has steadily increased in membership during that time.

That they regret to report the loss by death of an Honourary Vice-President, Sir Roderick Cameron, of New York; Mrs. James Strachan, of Toronto; Judge Pringle, of Cornwall, and Mrs. Merritt, the esteemed mother of Major W. Hamilton Merritt, who was one of the charter members, and who, from the first, took an active interest in the Association.

That the Rev. C. E. Thomson was appointed as delegate to attend the meeting of the Royal Society of Canada held in Ottawa in May at which he presented a report from this Association.

That at the suggestion of Lady Dilke a branch is about to be formed in England by Lady Dilke's sister, Mrs. Boys, who has written a letter inviting U. E. Loyalists to send their names to her for the purpose of organizing a branch.

That the work of copying the U. E. Loyalist records (in the Library of Congress in Washington) numbering about 27 volumes, which was carried on by Mr. Canniff Haight under the direction of Mr. Bain, has been completed, and it is hoped that in a short time they will be published. This, however, cannot be done without aid from the Ontario Government.

That a reception was given on the evening of November 9th in Massey Hall to the Canadian Contingent on the occasion of their return from South Africa at which an address was presented from this Association and a poem of welcome written by Miss Catharine Merritt was read. That several copies of "The Ontarian Genealogist and Family Historian" have been received from time to time, for which many thanks are due to Mr. E. M. Chadwick.

Also that your Committee express satisfaction at a generous request from Lady Dilke for three dozen copies of the Annual Transactions.

The unexpected decease of her late Majesty, our beloved Queen, came as a great shock to her loyal and devoted subjects the world over, to none more indeed than to the U. E. Loyalists. A joint address was at once sent to His Majesty King Edward VII. by the U. E. L. Associations of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia expressing condolence with him in his great loss, which is ours also, and our hope and belief that his reign will be a long and successful one.

The following papers have been read at the meetings:—

“A Glance at the Early Canadians, French and English,” by Mr. D. B. Read; “A Sketch of the Pennock and McDonagh Families,” by Mrs. Leggo, of Ottawa; “The Scotch U. E. Loyalist,” by Mr. A. C. Casselman; “The Moral Character of the U. E. Loyalists,” by Chancellor Burwash, of Victoria University.

Respectfully submitted,

N. M. CLARKSON,

March, 1901.

Hon. Assistant Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT.

MARCH, 1901—MARCH, 1902.

It is with much pleasure that at this, the fifth annual meeting of the United Empire Loyalists' Association I am able to report most satisfactory progress during the year.

In the past year the roll of Members increased from 424 to 472 members.

It is with much regret that the Association has lost by death ten of its most esteemed members. An Honourary Member, Miss Jane H. Jarvis, The Hon G. W. Allan, Dr. Overton Macdonald, Mr. Canniff Haight, of Toronto; Mr. G. H. Mills, Hamilton; Mrs. Tisdale, Simcoe; Mr. Arthur Rowley and Major Horace, in Ottawa; Mrs. Tisdale, Orillia, and Mr. D. B. Van Allan, of Chatham.

Our first observance of Arbour Day, May 3rd, was celebrated by planting a “Loyalist” tree in the Queen's Park. Short addresses were given by the members and were responded to by Ald. McMurrich, into whose hands the care of the tree was com-

mitted. This small tree was adorned with Union Jacks, which were tied on by the members, among them being Capt. Fahey, representing the Veterans of 1866, and Capt. Macdonald, of the 10th Royal Regiment. 1866, and Rev. C. E. Thomson, President of the York Pioneers.

In accordance with a resolution passed by the Association, the final meeting before closing for the summer months has been fixed for May 18th, to commemorate the anniversary of the landing of the Loyalists at St. John, N.B., in 1783.

The October meeting is to be held October 13th, the anniversary of the Battle of Queenston Heights.

The Association was presented by Mr. T. S. Arnold with a gavel, which had been made of a piece of wood taken from Chief Tecumseh's boat the "MacKenzie," which was sunk October 13th, 1813, and found last year in the River Thames, near Chatham.

The authorized badge issued by the Association has been widely circulated and has proved to be a closer bond of union between the members.

On the occasion of the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Toronto in October, the Association had the honour of presenting to their Royal Highnesses an address prepared and beautifully illuminated by Mr. Chadwick; the deputation who presented the address consisting of Mr. Land, Lt.-Col. Shaw, Mr. Chadwick, Rev. Canon MacNab and Miss Nina Clarkson.

A committee was formed for the purpose of petitioning the Minister of Militia for a grant of money towards the preservation of the Butler's Rangers graveyard at Niagara and the perpetuation of the memory of that brave corps by the erection of a suitable monument to mark the spot. A draft act to that effect has been submitted to the Premier of Ontario.

The Laura Secord National Monument Committee with Mr. Land, President; Mr. A. C. Casselman, Secretary, and Mr. Chadwick, Treasurer, and ably assisted by Mrs. Dunn, whose home is now in St. Catharines, but where she still continues to benefit the Association by her faithful work, was organized. It has issued books for receiving subscriptions for the monument and reports progress made from time to time.

The best wishes of the Association went with the Honourary Secretary, Major W. Hamilton Merritt, who left in January for South Africa as second in command 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles.

The proposed erection of a monument to Gen. Montgomery at Quebec, by the Sons of the Revolution, Boston, caused a petition protesting against such erection to be sent to His Majesty the King, a petition to the Governor-General of Canada transmitted through the Hon. William Mulock, a memorial to the City of Quebec and a letter to the various historical and patriotic societies asking for their co-operation in the matter. Other societies joined us in this expression of dissatisfaction the result of which has been the apparent abandonment of the project. It is also very gratifying to be able to report the formation of a branch of the Association in Hamilton which it is proposed to call the Head-of-the-Lake Branch, and which gives promise of active work. We have also been informed of an intention to form a branch in St. Catharines.

Upon learning of the death of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, who was at one time Governor-General of Canada, and who never ceased to take the deepest interest in her prosperity a resolution of sympathy was sent to Lady Dufferin.

The papers which have been read at the monthly meetings during the year are as follows:—

“Patriotic Societies, Their Value to the Empire.” R. E. A. Land.

“A Canadian U. E. Loyalist at Waterloo,” Rev. Canon A. W. Macnab.

“The Battle of the Thames and the Death of Chief Tecumseh,” T. S. Arnold.

“A National Monument to Laura Secord, Why It Should be Erected,” R. E. A. Land.

“The First Xmas in Canada,” J. H. Long, M.A.

“The Late Loyalists of Upper Canada,” J. S. Carstairs, B.A.

“The Crown and the Empire,” T. D. Thierry.

“Reminiscences of Capt. John De Cew,” Edmund De Cew, per H. H. De Cew.

Respectfully submitted.

NINA M. CLARKSON,

Hon. Assistant Secretary.

March, 1902.

Historical and Biographical Sketches.

Patriotic Societies ; Their Value to the Empire.

BY R. E. A. LAND.

*Inaugural Address before the United Empire Loyalists' Association,
March 14, 1901.*

The organization of loyal and patriotic societies has not hitherto engaged in any marked degree the attention of the British or Canadian people. Pressure of class interests and prejudices in the British Isles, together with the indeterminate status of the over sea dominions of the Crown, have retarded their growth. Even patriotism itself has, in some quarters, been at a decided discount. We have all read the definition of it given by an English cynic—"Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." Until recently, this by no means flattering definition seems to have been accepted as substantially correct by large sections of British society.

The prevalence of this badly considered judgment is due to many factors, some of which, fortunately, do not exist in our more favoured land. Class distinctions and prejudices have withdrawn aristocratic sympathy from popular effort, democratic suspicion of ulterior motives has repelled the natural leaders of the people. Between these repellant forces there has seemed to be no common ground of action upon which all orders of the patria could stand on behalf of the common weal. The nation has been lost sight of in the hurly-burly of party factions, which, nevertheless, represented very real interests—the preservation of class privileges on the one hand, the narrowing of those privileges and the advance of the democracy on the other.

Besides this internecine antagonism, which of itself accounts for the unpopularity of patriotic societies, the world, especially the British section of it, has been greatly influenced by a new ideal. During the past century cosmopolitanism became the vogue. We were told that the individual is everything, the collection of individuals, *alias* the State, nothing ; that the human family not only ought to be but is one vast brotherhood, in

which brotherly sentiments are bound to prevail; that our branch of it is no dearer to us than any other; that our near relations by the national fireside deserve, if anything, less consideration than those of much more remote ancestry, whether in time or place; that the flag, like the crown, is a bauble and only useful as a means of identification; that national ideals are a mistake, national interests a delusion, and that the world would be far better off did such worn out and antiquated notions cease to exist.

The Little Englander, a by-product of this new philosophy, has indeed gone much farther in his understanding of it. He has never been so happy as when abusing his patria, disclosing to the enemy, which in this case is the rest of the world, the weak points in her equipment, or when unduly exalting the equivocal advantages of the foreigner. For him the *dolce far niente* of other climes and customs has lent endearment to the view. He has consistently opposed the Empire's expansion, has oftentimes gloried in her defeats, and contributed not a little to her discomfiture; rarely has he had a good word to say for her in the dark hours of her trials. The darker the hour, as a rule, the more pitiless and exasperating has been his censure. Whether she was engaged in a heated controversy with a jealous rival over a vital point, as in the Venezuela case, or in an indifferent dispute of no great consequence to anybody, it mattered not. He has sought in all cases to minimize the weight of his country's argument, and has persistently committed moral treason by adhering to her bitter enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

The existence and activity of this pernicious class of citizens has, for many years, been a distinct menace to the Empire's security. Recent revelations have demonstrated the advice of such people to have been a potent factor in stiffening President Kruger's back at a critical time. There is also, no doubt, that it raised the enemy's hopes of national dissension over the policy of the war, and kept alive Boer hopes of foreign intervention. It has all along been accepted as justification of their Anglophobia by all our enemies, and is now one of the chief obstacles to the pacification of South Africa.

The self-respecting citizen not contaminated with the political heresies just described, who knows his own honest intent towards all nations, peoples and tongues of the universal Empire, and who has confidence in the equally honest intent of his patriotic

fellow-subjects, has stood the past year amazed and horrified at the spectacle of turpitude thus displayed.

This language must not, however, be construed as an assault upon the moral character of the above described cosmopolitan enthusiasts. They are by no means morally bad, nor are they otherwise actuated by vicious principles. Generally speaking they are not vicious, but visionary. What in their case constitutes the root of offence is an exaggerated cosmopolitanism which, allowing for its metaphysical beauty, is somewhat out of place in this wicked world, governed as it is, and probably will be for ages yet, by the equally philosophical doctrines of self-interest and the survival of the fittest. No doubt the millennium will some day come, but its advent will not be materially hastened by the destruction of the British Empire.

I think that we can now see clearly the arch enemy with which, as patriotic citizens, we are obliged to contend. It is the so-called cosmopolitanism of the age, which, under various disguises, and with alien connivance, is doing its worst to subvert the British state and nation. It has also been used as a cloak under the shelter of which the most hateful and insidious adverse influences could work. Of course no one in denouncing this 19th century fad, must be understood as counselling the withdrawal of British sympathy from foreign civilizing efforts. That should freely be given as in the past. More freely indeed as these are seen to assimilate sprays of our national life and thought. The burden of our labours must, however, be directed towards the support of British nationalism as opposed to cosmopolitanism, and to the preservation of the British Empire, believing with Lord Rosebery that it is the most potent secular agency for the diffusion of civilization.

The spread of nostrums so contrary to the dictates of common sense was certain to result in a reaction sooner or later. Observation tended to the conclusion that our rivals, whilst declaiming against what they were pleased to call our national greed, were guilty one and all of the sins they laid at our door. The simple policy of advertising, competing communities, and of sending our sons abroad for a living was discovered. The financial loss caused by the exodus of our best blood was more and more realized. Journals that had been adepts at coaxing young Canada to the alkali plains of Dakota experienced a change of heart when it was found that the exodus did not improve their

circulation. Thinking minds also became less under the influence of the cosmopolitan spirit ; nationalism again raised its head, and powerful agencies, patriotic societies in the number, took actively in hand the task of the regeneration of our ideals.

Our duty then is to stand by ideals distinctively British as opposed to those which are distinctively foreign ; to reverse in fact the tendency of the past fifty years in that respect, and whilst welcoming the good from any quarter, not to lose sight of that which is indigenous. We must at all times assert our preference for British freedom to American, or any other form of liberty which is often but another name for license ; British order to foreign police supervision or lynch law ; the British system of responsible government to the Czarism of the republics and the monarchies ; British justice grounded upon the independence of the judges, thus ensuring impartiality, to that based upon term tenure and periodical election ; British respect for law, order and constituted authority to foreign disrespect for any of the three ; British manufactures to those "made in Germany ;" British dominions for trade or residence ; British expansion for the good of the world to radical contraction of the Manchester type ; and the British flag over all as the emblem of our national attainments, aspirations and characteristics. We must cease to be apologetic. We must not fail to be reasonably assertive when British interests are at stake. We must educate those within the sphere of our influence in the British way of looking at things, and be ever ready to check foreign intrusion in our politics, business, or social affairs.

It is in this educationary work that patriotic societies are chiefly valuable. They are nuclei of national effort from which radiate through the body politic very potent influences for good. Each society adopts some phase of national thought as its specialty. Thus the Primrose League, with its comprehensive motto "*Imperium et Libertas*," presents the imperial liberty loving and expansive ideas of the race ; the Navy League directs popular attention to the defects of our sea arm ; the Sons of England, Ireland and Scotland conjoin beneficial work with a sturdy local nationalism ; the Historical Society is bringing to light new data, whilst refreshing our memories with the old ; and the Daughters of the Empire, under the able leadership of Mrs. Clarke Murray, their founder, are girdling the earth with their chapters, which have taken in hand the care of the deserted

spots on veldt and in valley where our brave South African heroes sleep their long sleep. If it be asked what is the distinctive role that the U. E. Loyalist Associations are called upon to play, I would reply, the presentation of the great political ideal of the unity and perpetuity of the Empire. On behalf of that unity, as Mr. Lecky admits, our forefathers fought and bled, many of them died, and all were persecuted. For the better expression of that unity we are all pledged, and when at last that unity has been attained, it will still be our duty to watch over the Empire one and indivisible lest unhallowed hands should strive to tear it asunder.

In addition to our furtherance of the above patriotic ideal we, as a Canadian society, can do much to perpetuate the Empire on this continent by the cultivation of a distinctively national character. We are Canadian as well as Imperial, a nation within an Empire. This soil and climate demand a national type and character specifically their own. The formation of a new national character will be of advantage to the people and will enrich the world. Nor will its evolution conflict with Imperial patriotism. As Anglo-Africander has justly pointed out, "Everywhere the rule of England favours the free development of national movements when such movements are within the limits of loyalty to the Empire." There will be a Canadian and an Imperial patriotism, and they will be mutually supporting. Two allied sentiments will prove stronger than one. They will be strong cables uniting us as Canadians and binding us closer to the Empire. This Canadian national character is in process of formation; nothing can stop its development. Already it is recognized by even the careless observer at home and abroad. The consensus of opinion is that we are neither English nor American. A provoking circumstance is that each of the elder branches accuses us of resembling the other. A Canadian in Britain is almost always mistaken for a Yankee. During a ten years' residence in New York, I was invariably looked upon as an Englishman. These concepts go to shew that we are building up in Canada a variation of the British race which is unlike any other, but is peculiar to the soil, atmosphere and life of the country.

Now what I wish to impress upon all our associates is that not only is this national character bound to develop, and that it is absolutely necessary that it should, if we are to attain the true

stature of national manhood, but also that we as patriotic citizens and a patriotic society should aid its evolution by all means in our power.

How is this to be done? By various acts and agencies almost too numerous to mention, as they enter into the sum total of our individual lives. There is, however, one way we can all walk, and as members of a U. E. Loyalist Association should walk to the end of the chapter. I mean by the rejection of every adverse influence, whether in speech, thought, dress, or conventional usage, especially those that hail from the south. We must never forget that the people who live below the line are republican, and that their ideals, hopes, aspirations and modes of thought are antagonistic to ours, and cannot safely be woven into the warp of our national life.

In practical work as an association I would beg leave to propose the following, as in harmony with our ideals:—

1. The better commemoration of Imperial and Canadian national anniversaries, such as Empire Day (May 23rd), Victoria Day (May 24th), the landing of the Loyalists at Adolphustown (June 16th), Laura Secord's walk (June 23rd), the discovery of the Canadian mainland by Cabot in 1497 (June 24th), Dominion Day (July 1st), the Battle of Lundy's Lane (July 25th), and the victory at Queenston Heights (October 13th).

Mrs. Fessenden, the originator of Empire Day, has suggested the joint celebration of Empire and Victoria Days, the one in the schools as a preparation for the other by the nation. Then June 23rd and 24th could also be jointly celebrated. The latter day might indeed be made Pan-Canadian, synchronizing as it does with the French-Canadian anniversary of St. John the Baptist. Two of the selected dates (October 13th and June 16th) could be utilized in connection with the meetings of this Association. Our annual meeting comes at the wrong season of the year—at the ending instead of the beginning of the year's work. Why not change it to October 13th, and thus aid in the better celebration of the great victory won on that day? The 16th of June might be appointed for our closing exercises. It stands, at the end of the season for indoor assemblies, at the beginning of our Italian summer. What more appropriate occasion could be wished for upon which to close our meetings for the Association year, and at the same time commemorate our pilgrim fathers who came to this Province in the month of roses, and under a bright sky laid the foundation of the new Empire.

2. The selection of a suitable day for decorating the graves of our heroic dead should engage your attention. Of course this selection can only be made by the proper authority, but the agitation for it can begin with us. What is needed is one day of universal observance throughout the Empire. It is absurd to devote two days for the purpose, as is done in this Province.

3. Generally speaking, in the matter and manner of celebrations we Canadians have much to learn. I know no land where so little taste is displayed in decoration, whether it be for joy or mourning. There is a meagreness about the setting that suggests a poverty which does not exist. Our lamented Queen's decease certainly stirred Canada as no event ever did, with the exceptions of Paardeberg and Pretoria, yet the symbolic expression of our grief was markedly defective.

4. We should not be behindhand in the erection of stone and bronze memorials of the heroic age of Canadian history. Of the legends and figures of that olden time, the early morning of modern Canadian story, Laura Secord's stands out in bold relief. She reminds one of the Roman matrons so sturdy in their love for the common patria. Some day a Canadian Sir Walter Scott will enshrine her fame in imperishable prose. Our best efforts will probably be in bronze. It is encouraging to know that the Ontario Historical Society, with commendable zeal, has provided a suitable stone for the grave. There still remains to be erected to her memory a national monument at the historic spot—Queenston—where our heroine spent the most active part of her life, and from which she started on her eventful walk. A monument erected to Laura Secord at Queenston by this Association would be properly sited, be accessible to thousands yearly, and serve as an object lesson in patriotism to future generations.

5. We should, both as individuals and as an Association, discountenance the use in Canada of alien emblems, especially foreign flags. As a corrective, I would suggest the freer display of the Union Jack. Our people should become more demonstrative in their patriotism, and thus antidote the baneful effects of foreign influence.

And finally, if this Association is to exercise an influence in the state commensurate with its importance, it will be necessary for us to increase its membership. If, as has been stated, the descendants of the Loyalist pilgrims of 1783 number in this Dominion over 800,000, our present membership bears a very small propor-

tion to that vast army. For the purpose of reaching those eligible we may be obliged to form branches of the central Association. To do so, I feel confident, would result in a re-awakening in the breasts of the chosen ones the memories of the great past, and in our receiving their hearty and active co-operation on behalf of the ideals we cherish.

As the expansion of the Dominion, the child of the Loyalists, is one of the ideals, and the perpetuation of the Empire, especially on the North American continent, is another, I cannot do better than to conclude with a few words culled from Lord Dufferin's farewell address to the Canadian people, September 24th, 1878:

"What then is to be my valedictory, my parting counsel to the citizens of the Dominion! A very few words will convey them. Love your country, believe in her, honour her, work for her, live for her, die for her. Never has any people been endowed with a nobler birthright, or blessed with prospects of a fairer future. I therefore say, cherish as one of the noblest traditions transmitted by your forefathers that feeling of loyalty towards Great Britain, the Empire and the Sovereign, by which you are animated, *for it is in that direction and not in any other that your true course lies.*"

In this beautiful peroration to an epoch-making address did Lord Dufferin, with a gift of imagination born of the weird landscape of his native Ireland, describe what should be our future, combining the two loyalties I have endeavored to inculcate, loyalty to the Dominion and loyalty to the Empire. In the execution of this the last testament to the Canadian people of that great proconsul, lies the noblest work of all Canadian patriotic societies.

Battle of the Thames and Death of Tecumseh.

BY T. S. ARNOLD.

In writing an account of the death of Tecumseh, I am aware that I undertake no ordinary task, for there are as many contradictory accounts of the manner and circumstances of his death as there have been writers upon the subject, and although his death occurred in a neighbourhood which was fairly well settled at the time, the actual occurrences of that day are, to many students of Canadian history, still shrouded in mystery. My facilities for gathering together the facts in connection with the death of Tecumseh and the Battle of the Thames have been exceptional, in that my grandfather, Captain Christopher Arnold, born in 1774, had lived since boyhood on his farm about six miles from the scene of the battle, and besides having been intimately acquainted with Tecumseh in the previous campaign in the vicinity of the Maumee, had been in consultation with him at his house the afternoon and night before the battle and was on the battle ground shortly after his death. I remember well a number of times when out hunting with my father that he would, while sitting down to rest, repeat to me the many oft told incidents that he had gathered in reference to that memorable man Tecumseh and the manner of his death. All these things are as fresh in my memory as if told me but yesterday.

Tecumseh was born near where Springfield, Ohio, now stands, was the fourth son of a family of seven, his parents being of the Shawanee Tribe, having a tribal distinction of the totem of the turtle. He was an athletic Indian, abnormally strong in both body and mind, and is thought to have been born in or about the year 1768. Tecumseh spent most of his life at war. His first battle was fought when he was only seventeen years of age with some Kentuckians on Mud River, Ohio. From this date to the beginning of the war of 1812 he was continually at war in some part of the country until his fame became as wide as the continent on which he lived. He always displayed great skill and bravery in battle and suffered stoically and without a murmur. When the war of 1812 broke out, Tecumseh, who had by this time gathered about him about 1,000 Indians, threw in his lot with the British and succeeded in rendering great assistance in several

battles. He was with General Brock at the surrender of Hull, and was presented by the General with a sash as an evidence of his bravery. So far what I have written is a matter well known in history as are the accounts of the movements of General Procter and Tecumseh. After the repulse of the forces under General Procter at Fort Stephenson, the British sailed across, while Tecumseh, with his followers, marched around the lake joining forces at Malden. From this time to the death of Tecumseh, Procter seems to have lost heart, refusing to face the Americans even when urged by the brave Tecumseh to do so. One position after another was abandoned, much to the disgust of the Indian chief, until a stand was made in the spot known as "Tecumseh Park," Chatham, but when the Americans approached, Procter retreated, leaving a rear guard of Indians to check the Kentuckians. As a dash was made for the bridge which spanned McGregor's Creek, the Indians fired, killing three Americans, and it is said several Indians were killed, one of whom, a chief high in Tecumseh's favor, was finally buried near where the dwelling of D. R. Van Allan now stands. The rear guard of Indians was forced to retire up the river, and in passing burned McGregor's grist mill. Tecumseh rode swiftly to the farm of his old acquaintance, Capt. Christopher Arnold, on the river front, in Howard, twelve miles from Chatham. It was at the residence of Mr. Arnold that the plan of the morrow's battle was arranged.

Several years ago a writer in the *Chatham Banner* over the *nom de plume* of H. L. H. said:—"Twenty years later at a point where McGregor's Creek slips quietly into the Thames there existed a small cluster of rude log houses, surrounded by the usual stockade. This was Chatham of a century ago. It was here on the spot where now stands Tecumseh Park that one of the most remarkable men that America ever produced, the noble Tecumseh, received the wound which led to his death."

Claud Puer, in speaking of the death of Tecumseh, says:—"Now resistance was no longer thought of and the dreadful cries of fugitive and pursuer, every man for himself, 'quarter to none,' mingled in the heavy autumn woods. Urging to greater speed the panic-stricken remnants of Procter's once victorious army, all about the flying chieftain and his pale-faced friend and through the dark seared forest aisles old warriors and youths flew blindly forward, none escaped the dreadful spell of panic. Of a sudden the spiteful ping of a rifle bullet rattled through

the bare, leafless trees and Tecumseh clapping his hand to his already scarred breast, fell heavily forward and exclaimed, "I am dying, leave me and save yourself." This somewhat eloquent statement lacks the important element of truth. It is no nearer truth than the assertion of Eugene Smalley who says that Tecumseh met his death at the battle of Tippecanoe, in the year before the war of 1812, and permit me to add here that the wounding of the chief at Chatham is purely imaginary, and written, I imagine, at a time when the writer desired to see the monument built in Tecumseh Park, the spot where the wounding is said to have occurred. W. K. Merrifield gives a lengthy account of the death of Tecumseh as told by Joseph Johnston, a man who lived from childhood with the Indians. His story was as follows:—"He, with other British white traders, had been with the Shawanees and Tecumseh for a long time, and when war with the United States commenced they joined with the Indians on the retreat of the British from Michigan to Canada. The Indians were afraid their beloved chief might be killed by treachery, as they knew the inveterate hatred of the Yankees for Tecumseh would hesitate at nothing to accomplish his destruction. To protect him, Joe Johnston, two other white traders and three Indian sub-chiefs formed themselves into a bodyguard, and fighting around Tecumseh when, some time after the rout of Proctor, Tecumseh was shot through the thigh and disabled from standing. The bodyguard bound up the wound and set him against a tree some distance in the rear of the fighting line where he could still cheer his warriors and direct the battle. In a fierce charge made by the Yankees the Indians were pressed back to where Tecumseh was seated, a mounted officer seeing him apparently helpless dashed towards him, pistol in hand, but before he had time to fire Tecumseh threw his tomahawk hitting him on the side of the face, splitting his head and tumbling him from his horse. The Yankee charge was repulsed, but for fear of another such danger to Tecumseh his bodyguard carried him further to the rear and seated him beside an elm tree while his war shouts rang through the forest encouraging his warriors in their desperate defence against the tremendous odds in Harrison's army. All at once these cries ceased. Joe Johnston and the rest of his bodyguard ran to where they had left him, knowing something serious had happened, they found Tecumseh stretched in death." Mr. Merrifield then tells of

the carrying away of the body, its burial and the solemn oath taken never to reveal the spot.

My father always stated that Joe Johnston was not a trader, neither was he a warrior, and was not with the Indians at Chatham, nor was he with Tecumseh the night before the battle, in short, was not at the battle of the Thames, nor was he ever associated with Tecumseh in any of his undertakings; that he possessed none of the characteristics of a warrior, in fact was unfitted in every way for any martial achievement. I am quite certain the version of the chief's death given by Mr. Merrifield, if told by Johnston, was simply a creation of his untutored imagination. My father, who knew Johnston well, asked him if he knew where Tecumseh was buried; he answered: "Mr. Arnold, I was too long with the Indians not to know, where the chief is buried." "Why do you not let us know, so that we can erect a monument?" Johnston replied: "If I told where he lies the Yankees would come over and steal his bones, and work his shin bones up into button moulds." Some years later, Johnston and my father went to the scene of the battle. Johnston pointed out the spot between two beech trees on which there were markings which Johnston claimed signified that the Shawanee chief was buried there. Some years after my father tried to find the spot, but failed entirely to locate it as the land had been cleared and the landmarks all removed. I lately came into possession of a deed made by Joseph Johnston bearing date 1810. He had purchased the land from Abner Bole some years previously. This proves positively that Johnston lived in the County of Kent several years before the breaking out of the war of 1812, and from first to last possibly never came into contact, or ever had anything to do with Tecumseh or his so-called bodyguard.

The confidence I place in the story told by my father, I think is fully warranted by the circumstances surrounding it. Tecumseh and several of his chiefs passed the night of the 3rd of October, 1813, at the house of Captain Arnold. They had two objects in view, first, to prevent the Indians from burning Arnold's mill, as they had done McGregor's mill at Chatham, second, to consult with Captain Arnold as to the plan and place of the battle that Tecumseh was determined to fight before reaching the Indian settlement at Moraviantown.

It was arranged that Tecumseh should watch for the Yankees under a large tree on the road about a half a mile from the mill,

while Capt. Arnold was to watch for their coming on the mill dam. If Arnold saw them first he was to throw up a shovel of earth. When Arnold first saw them he looked for Tecumseh, who had been standing beside his white horse with his elbow on its withers, but the chief was on his horse and the animal was running at full speed. The Americans gave chase, but the fleet-footed pony was too speedy for his pursuers. Tecumseh kept to the road until he reached the Hubble farm; he threw a bag which contained some flour Capt. Arnold had given him into Hubble's yard. He then rode to the river bank some distance further up the stream to a spot where a squaw awaited his coming. He at once got into a canoe, his white pony swimming by the side, and was quickly passed to the opposite bank, thus throwing his pursuers for a time off the trail. Finally the Kentuckians followed him to the scene of the battle two miles east of Thamesville. The ground was admirably adapted for defence. The British occupied the left wing, protected by the River Thames while the Indians extended to the right at an angle of 45 degrees behind a bog swamp extending nearly to the bank of the river. There were about 900 Indians and 600 British. Harrison made no delay but immediately rushed to the attack. Procter's lines were soon broken. Procter ordered a retreat to the everlasting disgust of many of his followers. It is said many of the militia, in their rage and disgust at Procter's want of courage, broke their guns, refusing to obey the order to retreat. When the attack was made the British commander lost his self-possession, as he had already lost his courage. He precipitately left the field in a headlong flight for the British camp at Burlington, arriving there with about 240 of his followers.

Tecumseh, with his braves, fought desperately and maintained their ground until the chief fell mortally wounded. At once the cry resounded through the woods and the Indians vanished, taking the wounded, possibly then dead, chief with them. The manner of his death was as follows: An American had penetrated to near the tree behind which Tecumseh stood, the Chief wounded him and he fell. Tecumseh, with uplifted tomahawk, sprang to finish his fallen enemy, but had not reached the spot before a bullet from the pistol of his intended victim pierced a vital spot in his body and he fell to rise no more.

Watson, in his history of the United States, page 713, says: "As Harrison rapidly pursued, the British commander deter-

ained to meet him and accordingly posted his army on the right bank of the River Thames near Moravian Town. Here he was overtaken on the 5th of October by Harrison. The enemy were thrown into confusion and they could not be rallied. The Indians stood firm and a desperate contest ensued between them and the mounted Kentuckians commanded by Colonel Johnston. Tecumseh cheered his warriors until he was shot dead by an unknown hand."

This is the true story of the death of the great Tecumseh.

As soon as the Yankees returned after the battle, Captain Arnold, with a few friends, visited the field and buried the dead and assisted the wounded. Andrew Flemming, then a boy of 13, with his father, visited the scene of the conflict. Some Kentuckians were skinning an Indian, saying they were going to take Tecumseh's skin to make razor straps. When told that the skinned Indian was not Tecumseh, one remarked: "I guess when we get back to Kentucky they will not know his skin from Tecumseh's." When the Americans returned to Arnold's mill many of them had strips of this skin scraping it with their long hunting knives. One of them had a lower jaw he was scraping, saying it belonged to Tecumseh. My grandfather, Captain Arnold, afterwards discovered that it belonged to a squaw whom the Yankee had wantonly shot across the river, four miles from the scene of the battle. A remarkable incident occurred at this time, which I think worthy of notice. Mr. Arnold, apprehending that the Yankees might burn his mill, took one of the mill stones out to the woods and hid it. He then pointed out to them that the mill could not grind, hence it was useless. In this way he, no doubt, saved his mill from destruction.

When it is remembered that Captain Arnold knew Tecumseh well, having been with him at the struggles at the Maumee, that Tecumseh was at Captain Arnold's place and consulting with him during the whole night previous to the battle, and ate his last meal at the table of his white brother, who, as soon as the Americans had retired, visited the battle ground, and to the end of his days delighted to repeat the various incidents connected therewith to my father—when all this is taken into consideration, it will not be wondered at that I place entire confidence in the story of the death of Tecumseh as repeated to me by my father so often in times that are gone.

This narrative possesses one merit that is not to be found in many of the accounts written of this event in Canadian history, inasmuch as it is firmly believed to be true by the man who wrote it.

Titus Simons, Quarter Master,
Peters' Corps of "Queen's Loyal Rangers," Burgoyne's
Campaign.

1777

1812

BY H. H. ROBERTSON, BARRISTER, HAMILTON, ONTARIO.

When Lieutenant General Burgoyne set out on his expedition, "from the side of Canada" in June, 1777, for the purpose of effecting a junction with Sir William Howe at Albany, and thus cutting the rebellion in twain, he was sensible of the importance of enlisting in his service, as he proceeded down the country, those Loyalist inhabitants whom he anticipated would join the Royal Standard. "The King has many faithful subjects dispersed in the provinces," said he, in addressing the Indians on the 21st of June. Accordingly, there accompanied him, as well as the French Canadians under De Boucherville, the nucleus, or rather the nuclei, of two regiments of Provincials, of which John Peters, of Hebron, Connecticut, and Ebenezer Jessup, of Stamford, were respectively in command. Jessup's Corps had been stationed at Lachine with the "Royal Yorkers," and joined the army at St. Johns. The uniform of Jessup's Corps was "red, turned up with green." (C. A. B., 158-9.)

Peters had been seized and ill-treated the year previous at Hartford and Springfield, and having arrived in Canada in company with the rebel Colonel Bedell, was arrested on suspicion, by Sullivan, at Sorel, but escaping by canoe to St. Johns, he there met General Simon Fraser, who sent him to Sir Guy Carleton at Montreal, by whom he was commissioned to raise a regiment. On the 14th of June,—Burgoyne having arrived at Quebec on the 4th of May, from England,—Peters was ordered to join his army with what force he had raised, to be known as the Queen's Loyal Rangers. (C. A. B. 167-206.)

The Jessups, Ebenezer, Edward and Joseph, were natives of Stamford, Connecticut, and large land holders in the Province of New York. ("E. Jessup's Descendants," p. 234.) Governor Tryon, of New York, had encouraged them to raise a corps before they went to Canada, in the Fall of 1776. They did not accompany Sir John Johnson's party, but waited upon Sir Guy Carleton, and



COLONEL TITUS GEER SIMONS.

expressed their determination to risk all in assisting, as much as would be in their power, to quote the words of Eben Jessup, "to conquer our enemies and re-establish civil government for the honour of the Crown and the true interest of the Colonies."

Colonel Philip Skene, whose colonization plans at the head of Lake Champlain had been interrupted by the rebellion, accompanied the army, as one peculiarly qualified to furnish intelligence as to the disposition of the inhabitants.

Burgoyne's idea towards the Provincial Corps is expressed to Lord Germain, to whom he wrote on the 11th of July, while upon the full tide of victory, when the enemy were retreating panic-stricken before his victorious arms from Ticonderoga, Huberton and Skenesborough. "Mr. Peters and Mr. Jessup," he wrote, "who came over to Canada last Autumn, and proposed to raise battalions,—one from the neighborhood of Albany, the other from Charlotte County,—are confident of success as the army advances. Their battalions are now in embryo, but very promising; they have fought, and with spirit. Sir Guy Carleton has given blank commissions for the officers, to fill up occasionally, and the agreement with them is, that the commissions are not to be effective till two-thirds of the battalions are raised. Some hundreds of men—a third part of them with arms—have joined me since I have penetrated this place, professing themselves Loyalists and wishing to serve, some to the end of the war, some for the campaign. Though I am without instructions upon this subject, I have not hesitated to receive them, and as fast as companies can be formed, I shall post the officers till a decision can be made upon the measure by my superiors. I mean to employ them particularly upon detachments, for keeping the country in awe, and procuring cattle; their real use, I expect, will be great in the preservation of the national troops; but the impression which will be caused upon public opinion, should Provincials be seen acting vigorously in the cause of the King, will be yet more advantageous, and I trust fully justify the expense."

On the 12th of July, at Skenesborough, Colonel Skeene was appointed "to act as commissary to administer the Oath of Allegiance, and to grant certificates of protection to such inhabitants as sue properly for the same, and to regulate all other matters relative to the supplies and assistances that shall be required from the country or voluntarily brought in." Subse-

quently Mr. Daniel Jones, and others, were appointed to assist Colonel Skene in this duty.

David Jones, a younger brother of Daniel Jones, was the lover of the unfortunate Jane Macrea, whose death has been falsely attributed to the Indians in the British service, but now conceded to be due to the fire of the rebel garrison at Fort Edward, upon her escort. Jane Macrea, whose people, with the Jones family, had come from New Jersey, was staying in the neighborhood called Pine Plains, with her aunt, Mrs. Campbell. It was probably mutually understood that she should come to the house of Daniel Jones, who had married before the war, and resided there with his family, and it was arranged that a company of Indians from the British camp should take a horse to her, and escort her back with them, by day, three or four miles, transferring her to the house of Daniel Jones. A part of twenty men, part of the rebel garrison at Fort Edward, met the party returning with Miss Macrea and fired upon them. The Indians threw themselves upon the ground to escape the volley, but the unfortunate girl, on horseback, was thus accidentally and fatally wounded. Her death afforded pretext for charges against the British, and by some American writers is still attributed to the British Indians. Burgoyne himself, strangely enough, seems to have been of the opinion that Jane Macrea met her death from the Indians. General Fraser, however, was of a different opinion, and American writers now concede that her death was caused not by the Indians, but by the company of Captain Palmer, of Fort Edward.*

The Provincials who formed part of the advance corps, were first mustered at Skenesborough, the order for their organization emanating, immediately, from the ill-fated General Fraser, destined to fall on Behm's Heights before Morgan's riflemen, detailed to pick him off.

Peters at this time mustered 262 officers and men, and Jessup's 172. Jessup's Corps was styled the King's Loyal Americans.

The officers of Peters' Corps were:—*Captains*, Justus Sherwood, Jeremiah French, David McFall and Francis Hogel; *Lieutenants*, Gershom French, John Dulmage, James Parrott and Ruben Hawley, who was succeeded by Philo Hurlburt; *Ensigns*, John Peters, Jr., and Elijah Grout. Gershom French was Adjutant. Elijah Grout acted as Quarter-Master until the 13th of September.

* W. L. Stone's "Burgoyne's Campaign," 21.—*Scottish Canadian* for July, 1902, 223.

ber, when he was succeeded by Titus Simons. Captain Sherwood is referred to by Burgoyne, as "a man of culture, and forward in every service of danger." He subsequently played an important part in negotiations with Vermont. His son was Mr. Justice Levius Peters Sherwood of the Court of King's Bench, Upper Canada. The Frenches had come from Manchester in the New Hampshire Grants, where Jeremiah had been acting Sheriff. After the war, Gershom French explored the lands of the Rideau River, from the mouth to its source. Jeremiah French was one of the members of the first Parliament of Upper Canada, representing the Second District from the East (Stormont).

John Dulmage was present at the "Johnstown social" in the time of Governor Simcoe. (Read's Life of Simcoe, 135.)

Contemporaneously with the muster of the Provincials in the middle of July, General Reidesel was directed to make a diversion eastward towards the Connecticut River, "and by that feint to draw the attention of the Americans to almost every quarter."

ERRATA.

On page 38, line 15, "a part of 20 men" read "party of 20 men."

On page 39, line 12 from bottom, read "30th of July" for "13th."

On page 39, line 10 from bottom, read "12th of August" for "13th."

On page 46, line 11, insert "lay" between "to" and "deep."

Hampshire, warning them of the intended movement on the 13th of July.

Finally on the 13th of August the expedition, consisting of 291 men of Peters Corps, two hundred unmounted German Dragoons, Fraser's marksmen with some Indians, all under Colonel Baume, crossed the Batten Kill for Bennington. The force to be supported by Colonel Breymann's force of six hundred men.

Colonel Baume, having no knowledge of the English language, was accompanied by Colonel Skene, who had received written instructions from Burgoyne:—"Lieutenant-Colonel Baume is directed to communicate and to consult with you upon all matters of intelligence, negotiation with the inhabitants, roads, and other

means depending upon a knowledge of the country, for carrying his instructions into execution . . . The objects of his orders are to try the affections of the country ; to disconcert the councils of the enemy, mount the regiment of Reidesel's Dragoons ; to complete Lieutenant-Colonel Peters Corps, etc."

On the first day, the thirteenth, Colonel Baume came up with the enemy, a part of Peters Corps engaged them, a party of fifteen men, who delivered their fire and took to the woods. A private of Captain Sherwood's company was wounded, five rebels were taken prisoners, and a full report sent from Cambridge, on the morning of the fourteenth, to Burgoyne. The following day, Baume continued his march, took possession of a mill filled with supplies, learned that the force at Bennington was eighteen hundred men, and reported, "The people are flocking in hourly, but want to be armed." The profligacy of these men, who took the Oath of Allegiance, proved fatal to the British in the first day's battle. Coming up with the enemy, Colonel Skene readily fell into a trap devised for him by John Stark, in command of the rebels, who dispatched, first, a force under Colonel Nichols, consisting of two hundred men to the left, with three hundred more, under Colonel Herrick to the right. These men professed themselves Loyalists, and were suffered to come within the British lines. Nichols finding the scheme a success, sent back for three hundred more men to join him. When the attack began, to the amazement of the British, their newly-found allies turned their fire upon the British. Peters says, "The action commenced at nine a.m. and lasted until four p.m., when we retired in much confusion. A little before the Loyalists gave way, the rebels pushed with a strong party on the front of the Loyalists which I commanded. As they were coming up, I observed a man fire at me, which I returned. He loaded again as he came up, and discharged again at me, crying out, 'Peters, you d—— Tory, I have got you.' He rushed on me with his bayonet, which entered just below my left breast, but was turned by my bones. By this time I was loaded and saw it was a rebel captain, Jeremiah Post by name, an old schoolmate and play-fellow, and a cousin of my wife. Though his bayonet was in my body I felt regret at being obliged to destroy him. We retreated from Bennington to the reinforcement which was coming up, which was attacked and obliged to retreat to the bridge of the mills in Cambridge, which I broke up after the troops had re-

"treated across it. The same evening we retreated towards the "camp, which we reached next day."

The reinforcement under Breyden had proceeded, over a heavy country with heavy equipment at the rate of one mile an hour. And to this delay Burgoyne attributes the failure of the expedition. Breyden, nevertheless, defeated the enemy, driving them before him, but, his ammunition being expended, retired. Peters lost half his men in the engagement. David McFall, a sergeant in the 26th Regiment, had been given a commission in Peters Corps at Fort Edward. He was taken prisoner. Addressing Colonel Peters three years later he says:—"I thought myself happy to be under your command, but alas, then began all my misfortunes. I and many other brave Loyalists marched under your command to Bennington, but few of them ever returned. I was made prisoner at the expense of the lives of many a rebel. I was stripped of everything that I was long acquiring, even to the coat off my back, from hence I was marched to Boston, I and other officers without a stitch of shoes to our feet, put aboard the Kingston guard ship where we endured both hunger and cold."

Colonel Skene escaped capture by cutting the traces of an artillery horse and mounting it. Eben Jessup attributes the failure of the expedition "most of all, because Colonel Skene who so long managed the intelligence part and giving protection, etc., that the enemy by his credulity acquired a considerable knowledge of our strength and motions, upon which the Bennington expedition failed, the loss of which, in my opinion, was the principal cause of all our misfortunes, and so I failed to fill my battalion and wanted sixty-three men to entitle us to commissions," etc.

The biographer of John Stark tells how the prisoners taken at Bennington were treated. The regular soldiers were received as prisoners of war, "but the Tories, to the number of 152, were tied in pairs, to each pair a horse was attached by traces with, in some cases, a negro for his rider. They were led away amid the jeers and scoffs of the victors." Burgoyne complained to General Gates of the treatment of the Bennington prisoners, but was met by a counter charge against the Indians in the British service, wrongfully charged with the murder of Jane M'Creac. The failure at Bennington was the first misfortune of the campaign. Upon it great stress was laid by Lord Germain in impeachment of Burgoyne. It is apparent now, however, that this reverse

would not have affected the great object of the expedition, the junction with Sir William Howe at Albany, had Lord Germain not been guilty of gross neglect in failing to transmit a dispatch to Howe, in command at New York, to ascend the Hudson with an offensive force. Burgoyne's orders were imperative, to force his way to Albany, the dispatch containing the explicit orders for Howe to ascend the Hudson was duly drafted, and with many other papers, awaited the Minister's signature. A memo of Lord Selborne lately brought to light by Lord Fitzmaurice solves the mystery of Burgoyne's delayed co-operation, upon the transmission of which depended Burgoyne's devoted army. (Fiske, Am. Rev., 277.)

It is apparent, nevertheless, that Burgoyne under-estimated his adversary at Bennington, although his plans and movements were subsequently declared without fault by the most enlightened judges who were on service with him. After the battle of Freeman's farm, when the command of the Northern army had been transferred from Schuyler to Gates, under whom the panic-stricken regiments had retraced their flight from Vanshicks Island, and had received accessions until his army numbered five to one of his adversary,—the remnant of the Provincial corps was further reduced, each of the six British regiments receiving twenty men therefrom. During the battle in the woods, on the seventh of October, part of Peters corps were as usual, in the advance party, another part in the redoubt where Breymen was killed, and Arnold wounded.

When the last battle had been fought on the 7th of October, and negotiations decided upon on the 13th, the officers of the Provincials, having failed to complete their quota, had not received their commissions. Their position, therefore, was equivocal. Colonel Peters could do no more, and on the 14th, at the instance of the general officers, at great risk, conducted his party by devious paths, through the enemy's lines northward to Diamond Island in Lake George, and thence to Canada. "Desert you we did not," says Ebenezer Jessup to Burgoyne in 1778, "and you were pleased to tell me after all the others had gone, that it was the determination of all the generals and officers, to fall a sacrifice themselves before you would yield up the few Provincials that stuck by you, to the will of the enemy. Major General Philipps and Lord Balcarras being present, said the same."

Jessup attributes the failure of the Bennington expedition to the credulity of Colonel Skene. Colonel Skene's humility is ex-

pressed upon his signing the parole after the surrender, in the addition of the words, "A poor follower of the British Army," after his signature.

In the following year Burgoyne Provincials petitioned to be formed into a second battalion of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, Sir John Johnson's regiment, which had accompanied St. Leger, and Colonel Peters conducted a successful expedition against the rebel posts on Onion River. The command of the Loyalists was given to Captain Daniel McAlpine on the 1st of June, 1778, an ex-officer of the Royal Americans, the 60th. McAlpine died in July, 1780. On the 5th of December, 1780:—"All Loyalists quartered at Verchere are placed under the command of Major John Naire, Mr. Neill Robertson to act as Adjutant and Titus Simons as Quarter Master." And on August 23rd, 1781, from the same place, "It is Major Naire's orders that the officers commanding the several corps of Loyalists in the Parish, are to send in to Mr. Titus Simons, acting Quarter Master, an exact provision return, weekly, etc."

In 1781 the Provincials were re-organized, Major Edward Jessup being appointed to the command of the whole, to be known as the Loyal Rangers. Peters corps became merged in this, and a second battalion of Sir John Johnson's regiment. To the chagrin of Colonel Peters, he received a captaincy only, under Jessup, under whom the officers who had served in Burgoyne's campaign in the corps of Eben Jessup, Peters, McAlpine and McKay, received commissions. In 1783 the soldiers were disbanded, and the story of their settlement in the Eastern District is recorded.

Titus Simons had lived at Hartford, and belonged to the parish of the Reverend Dr. Samuel Peters. He had a considerable family. His wife was Jerusha Kingsley, and their children were, first, Titus Geer, a mere lad who was given a musket in the ranks of his father's corps. His seven daughters were married as follows: one to John Detlor, son of John Valentine Detlor, of Fredericksburg; one to Simon McNab, of Belleville; one to Dr. Seth Meacham, one to John Carpenter, upon whose death she married Dr. William Brown, another to John Thompson, and two others to John Lawrason and John Cummings. Two other sons, John Kingsley and William Walter, also survived their brother Titus Geer.

After the peace, the family settled first at Kingston, then at

Niagara, later at York and finally at Flamboro in the County of Wentworth.

In 1804 the elder Simons was Adjutant of the 1st Regiment of the West Lincoln Militia. The officers of the Corps were as follows:—*Colonel*, Peter Hare; *Lieut.-Colonel*, Andrew Bradt; *Major*, Richard Hatt; *Captains*, John Ryckman, Augustus Jones, Daniel Young, John Lottridge, Ebenezer Jones, Samuel Hatt, Peter Bowman, William Lottridge, John Smith; *Lieutenants*, Elijah Chambers, John Jones, John Aikman, Charles Devine, Lewis Horning, Michael Chewin, Robert Land, Jr., Israel Dodely, William Davis; *Ensigns*, Conrad Johnson, Benjamin Lockwood, John Springer, David Stewart, Peter Hess, Gershom Carpenter, Ephraim Land, George Smith, Daniel Young, Jr.; *Adjutant*, Titus Simons; *Quarter-Master*, James Willson.*

Titus Simons died at Flamboro in 1824, having attained the length of days proverbially "long in the land" to U. E. Loyalists, over ninety years.

In 1796, the younger Simons published the *Official Gazette* at York, the first paper published in York. In 1806 he organized the Burlington Agricultural Society, probably in emulation of Governor Simcoe at Niagara, the original manuscript constitution being still preserved. Titus Geer Simons had a distinguished career during the war of 1812, though his name seems strangely omitted, by historians, in view of the important services he rendered. He had held a commission in the 2nd Lincoln Militia in 1804, and in the 2nd York in 1812 when war was declared. Within three weeks thereafter, he was on the frontier at Niagara with sixty men taken from the district, afterwards known as the Gore district. The orderly book of the First Lincoln Militia, under date Niagara, 6th July, 1812, contains the following entry: "Capt. Simons of 2nd York Regiment has arrived this day with sixty men and will march to Queenstown in the cool of the evening to join the flank companies of the same regiment now quartered there." In March, 1813, he received orders to recruit for a Majority in the Incorporated Militia, and having completed his quota of men, served with that battalion until June, 1814, when he rejoined his former regiment, the 2nd York. He aided in the capture of the American Fort Niagara in 1813, and was consulted in reference to the expedition, before the division under Lieutenant Colonel Murray left Burlington on that

* Upper Canada Almanac, 1804. Toronto Public Library.

enterprise. He commanded all the volunteer armed militia in the successful attack upon Black Rock and Buffalo under Generals Drummond and Riall, on the 29th of December, 1813, in retaliation for the burning of Newark, and on the first of January, 1814, left Black Rock with 279 prisoners for York. (Can. Arch., Series Q., Vol. 341, p. 199).

At Lundy's Lane Major Simons commanded the whole of the 2nd York Militia, present at that action, until severely wounded, his men forming part of Colonel Scott's force. "The advance guard was already within three miles of the field of battle, when they were met by an orderly bearing a second dispatch from General Riall, announcing that he was about to retire on Queens-town, and directing them to retreat at once and join him at that place. They had retraced their steps for nearly four miles, when the roar of cannon burst upon their ears and they were overtaken by a second messenger, summoning them to the scene of conflict. It was accordingly nine o'clock (at night) before the head of the column, weary and footsore with a march of more than twenty miles almost without a halt, came in view on the extreme right." (Cruikshank, Battle of L. L., p. 35).

Three grape shot lodged in Major Simons' sword arm in the conflict. Thus ended his career of action in the war. Adjutant-General Coffin testified that during the campaign, "for bravery, intelligence, zeal and activity his conduct was most exemplary, and his services were, I believe, considered by the general officers commanding as of great value during the whole of the late war with the United States of America."

On the 3rd of June, 1813, a day or so before the battle of Stoney Creek, Colonel Harvey wrote Major Simons from Beasley's [Burlington Heights]:

My Dear Sir,—

"General Vincent desires me to say, that you must come to Head-Quarters.

"Your local knowledge and other qualities not necessary to enumerate, render you particularly valuable to him at the present moment. Some other officer must take charge of the militia going to Stoney Creek and you must give us the benefit of your advice and assistance here."

Sir Peregrin Maitland wrote Lord Bathurst, that Major Simons "served with active zeal and intelligence from the commencement of the war with the United States, his general character

and conduct in the command of a Regiment of Militia highly respectable, and his loyalty and attachment to his Majesty's Government undoubted."

When the Gore district was set apart in 1816, Major Simons was appointed Sheriff. The Gore Militia, the 2nd Regiment of which he was Colonel, comprised six, and subsequently thirteen, battalions. Colonel Simons died at West Flamboro, in August, 1829.

In recalling the migration of the Loyalists to Canada, Professor Tyler, Cornell University, says:—"Its members were imbued with many qualities calculated to deep and firm the foundations of stable institutions, of moral and conservative habits, at a most critical stage of the nation's growth. If Canada has been able for a century, to resist the growth of republican ideas, and to adhere to England, credit is largely due to the principles which the Loyalists have handed down to generations after them."

As Champlain was the father of French Canada, they were the fathers of British Canada. Where are their monuments? To adopt the simile of Horace, they stand, "more durable than brass," for their names are graven deep into the foundations of their country. They founded the Province of Upper Canada, redeemed it from its primeval state, held it against the invader of 1812, and their descendants are realizing to-day the value of the principle for which their ancestors, more than a century since, had staked and lost their all. A united Empire, whose flag has ever been the symbol of justice and equal rights

And though no column lifts its head,
—Speaks to the living of the dead,—
Each day, we bless them in our prayers,
The fruits are ours, the toil was theirs.

Narrative of Francis Hogel, Can. Arc., B. 215, p. 265.

" " Gershom French, Can. Arc., B. 160, p. 1.

" " John Peters, Onion River Expedition, Can. Arc., B. 216-6.

A Glance at the Early Canadians (French and English).

BY D. B. READ.

The early history of a country, its manners and customs, is at all times a theme pleasant to dwell upon. Especially is this the case in such a country as the Dominion of Canada, formed of different nationalities, principally of the Anglo-Saxon, Celtic and Scottish races in happy communion with the native Canadian people, whether of French or British origin.

In reviewing the past and to begin at the beginning, as it were, it would be well to bear in mind that the capitulation by which the ancient Province of Quebec was ceded to the British Crown by the French was signed on September the 8th, 1760, and the final treaty with France in 1763.

The Canadians of that day and down to the revolt of the New England Colonies in 1776 were for the most part, if not altogether, colonial Frenchmen, or if not colonial Frenchmen, Anglo-Canadians, living in the newly-acquired English province, governed by French laws, while the Anglo-Americans on the south side of the St. Lawrence were British Colonists governed by English laws, or the English type of laws adapted to their situation.

In the English Colonies was spoken the English language; in the Province of Quebec, extending from Gaspé to the farthest west, the language of the country was mostly French.

The New Englanders were Puritans; the French were Roman Catholics. The New Englanders sang psalms and hunted witches; the French hunted wild animals and played the fiddle. The New Englanders dearly loved popped corn and pumpkin pie; the French onions.

The two people were so different in laws, religion, music, melody and manners that there was no chance of amalgamation; they never did or could coalesce.

Not long after that tea party of 1773, of which the Bostonians were and ever since have been so proud, the Frenchmen of the Province of Quebec, who had become subjects of the King of England unwillingly, lighted their pipes, thought out current events, argued, discussed and took sweet counsel together,

whether they should take tea with the Britishers, or the American Colonists on the eve of revolt.

It was rather a difficult question to decide; the French Canadian was, so to speak, between two fires. If he sided with the Americans and they should succeed in the conflict, he might with their assistance wipe out the stain of defeat at Quebec on the Plains of Abraham. If he sided with the English and they succeeded, the fetters that then enchained his limbs would have a harder and tighter grip, rendering him less able to resist the power of Britain.

Emissaries, and they were not a few, visited Quebec, inciting the inhabitants to throw off the yoke of Britain and to make common cause with the colonists of New England in their revolutionary propaganda.

During the period to which I have referred, the races in the City of Montreal and Quebec were mixed. There were French-Canadians born in the country and Frenchmen not born in the country, relics of the French regiments who had been engaged in the struggle with the English in the war culminating in the capture of Quebec. There were also in these cities English, Irish and Scotch merchants and others, their dependants, with no very friendly feeling towards their French fellow-subjects. The laws were mixed, some French, some English, and some of a hybrid character.

The American colonies, on the contrary, had settled laws, colonial, it is true, but not part English and part French as in Quebec.

The French-Canadian always with one eye on France and the other on England was in doubt and perplexity. In the year 1778 Dr. Franklin came to his rescue, inducing the French King to break the Treaty of 1763 and to enter into a Treaty of Alliance with the new American Republic, which was then recognized as an independent power by France, then the first nation of Europe.

The Treaty of Alliance was a great gain for the American colonists. No sooner had it been entered into than a French fleet appeared off the sea-board of New York, the commander of which addressed a communication to the Canadians enjoining them to embrace the revolutionary cause.

The French-Canadian's sympathies were, undoubtedly, with the American Revolutionists, though circumstances did not admit of his taking a very active part in the revolution.

After the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace of 1783, the lot of the colonists within the territory of the United States, who had remained neutral during the war, was not a happy one. Families had become divided, some members of the same family espousing one cause, some the other. Bitterness prevailed in an exceeding degree. The successful men of the revolution taunted and jeered their whilom friends and neighbours, who had refused to take up arms against the King. Their lands were confiscated, their homes made desolate and their lives so miserable that they were glad to go into exile, and to remove their wives, their families and their household goods to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the uncultivated wilderness of Canada. These people left good farms, civilized life and all the comforts with which they had surrounded themselves in the old colony of New England, to take up their abode in a land covered with forest trees, inhabited principally by wolves, bears and wild Indians. They indeed were repeating the history of the Pilgrim Fathers, when they landed at Plymouth Rock. The pilgrims had gone out from their own land to hew out for themselves a home in the wilderness, and so did those colonists, who never forsook the King's cause and who came to Canada and were subsequently known as United Empire Loyalists. The band of Empire Loyalists was largely augmented by officers and soldiers who had fought throughout the war on the side of Royalty, but who submitted to the inevitable, and when the time came, followed the flag of their King into the dense forests of Canada.

The feeling of the colonists after their arrival in Canada, subject to all the privations incident to the immigrant in a new forest country, was one of relentless hatred towards their cousins on the south side of the St. Lawrence. How could it be otherwise? They had been jeered at, hooted, defamed, reviled, actually driven from the land of their birth and homes of their childhood. Some may say they had themselves to blame for all this—they were on the losing side and must suffer the consequences. That may all be so, yet the fact remains that the feeling of the two peoples towards each other for many years was one of intense hatred. To illustrate this, let me relate a story of a United Empire Loyalist Judge of Sessions in Upper Canada, after his settlement in the Province and obtaining some position there. An offender was brought before this Judge of Sessions for trial for some petty crime. It was not the first nor

second time that he had been brought before the same Judge. His record was a bad one. On this occasion he was convicted, and the Judge in sentencing him said, "Prisoner, your conduct has been flagrant. I hardly know what sentence to pass on you. It, at all events, must be a severe one. I banish you off the face of God's earth—I send you to the United States."

For a long time after the successful revolution the Americans and Canadians would not hold any intercourse one with the other, in trade or otherwise

When the United Empire Loyalists had got well settled in the country they began to find that in the matter of civil rights they had not much bettered themselves by leaving the new republic, for they found that instead of American law they had French law, which they found much worse. This state of things lasted till 1791, when, by reason of the agitation of the U. E. Loyalists, Great Britain passed an act dividing the Province of Quebec into the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, the intention being that the United Empire Loyalists and other immigrants coming to Upper Canada should be governed by British laws and enjoy their civil rights to as large and full an extent as any inhabitant in the county of Kent in the motherland of England. We have then in 1791 and onwards the Canadians on the north side of the St. Lawrence, in what is now the Province of Ontario, conducting their affairs on the English principle, subject to any alterations the Canadian Parliament, which had been granted to them, might make; and the Americans on the south side of the St. Lawrence managing their affairs on the same British model, subject to any alterations and improvements which their own State or Federal Legislature might make. So that when we come to contrast the two systems we find them based on the same model, the only difference being that one government is Republican, the other Monarchical; and this after all is more in name than substance, the people, and the will of the people governing as much, if not more, in Canada than in the United States. It was not till 1791, when the Province of Quebec was cut in twain, that anything like progress or improvement existed in the Upper Province. From that time forth the Province began to grow, but by very slow degrees. She was like a child just born, really in her babyhood. She can hardly be said to have had small clothes. Everything had to be procured in this stage of her existence. By hard work and

patient toil the great forest trees had to be felled, fields cleared, grain procured, huts, not houses, built. All this time the lives even of the new comers were at the mercy of wild beasts and a savage race. A gun in those days was the most useful implement of farm life, and even that had to be imported from England, through the Montreal market. With these difficulties to contend with, it may readily be understood that the progress from babydom to maturity was in Upper Canada but by slow degrees. In the New England States, from which most of the new settlers came, there were schools, colleges, seminaries. In the new province there were none of these things. Teachers, tailors and tinkers had all to be imported. The schoolmaster of this day was a man of great consequence, for he had under his control the youthful population of all the country round. Emigrants from the old land began to pour into the country, and with them came Belfast men, Glasgow men, Edinboro' Town men, London men, and Trinity College men. A good many of these were out at elbows and thought to better their condition in a new land. It may be that some had been plucked in their examination and determined to rusticate. What so desirable a place to rusticate in as a new country, where game of all kinds and Indians abounded? What a splendid field for the owner of an overtaxed brain; for the too much educated scholar of the schools of Great Britain? Many of these newcomers were turned to good account. They were readily seized upon as the fit and proper men to train the youth of Canada; their talent and their tawse were soon brought into play, and the log school houses of the new land were soon filled with the youth of the country, engaged in making pot-hooks and working out sums for the enlightenment of future generations. But then what a contrast between the American boy and the Canadian boy. The former welcomed to the school by an educated ma'am from some of the many seminaries of the old colony, while the Canadian boy on his name being called in school had to answer "here" to some crabbed master with plenty of brogue and birch to tickle the fancy of the youthful Canadian. The American could bedeck himself with the best of clothes, made at the factory near at hand, while the Canadian must content himself with fulled cloth and homespun dress made by his dear mother within the four walls of their own Canadian home.

With all the discomforts of a new country, the Canadians had their enjoyments and holiday times. They could slide down a

hill as well as their American neighbours, if not better. They could husk corn, peel apples and drink cider as well as the best of them. Even in the matter of pumpkin pie they were not to be despised. Then as for music; were there not singing schools going all the time, fast and furious? For them, however, they were indebted to the Americans. Everyone knows that the New Englanders have ever been celebrated for their energy, their progressiveness, their moving and their music. Were it not for their moving qualities there might have been no Western States. Where would the Chicago of to-day be were it not that the New Englander with his wife and family, his cousins and his aunt, determined to move on as soon as he saw a chance of an opening in the western prairie?

This moving spirit animated the breast of certain singers of the New England States and impressed them with the idea that it would be a good thing to teach the young Canadian how to exercise his vocal powers. The Province was soon overrun with the singing-masters with their tuning-forks. Many was the night of fun and frolic in the early settlements at the singing-schools.

The New Englander, or as he was generally called, the Yankee schoolmaster, became an institution of the country. He was as much sought after as the physician or the preacher. There were not wanting Canadian loyalists, who asserted that the schoolmasters and the singing-masters were instilling Republican principles into the minds and voices of the youths of the country. What might have been the fate of the Canadian people had not that strong anti-American feeling of the elders animating the breasts of all U. E. Loyalists intervened to prevent the corruption of the young people and departure from the principles of their fathers?

Events were rapidly shaping the destinies of nations, and Canada had come face to face to the period between 1791 and 1812.

The great Napoleon was fast becoming the arbiter of nations. Notwithstanding the turmoil in Europe, Canada was at peace with all the world. Suddenly a dark cloud obscured the horizon, a war broke out between England and the United States. Canada, true to her Mother, and not forgetting that her sons had been expelled from the old colony, as well at the solicitation of England as for her own preservation, was drawn into the strife, a strife that immediately no more concerned her than would a

war breaking out between the Turks and Bulgarians. Thus in the order of events the wheels of progress were stopped and the new province checked in the march of civilization. It is often said that Canada has not progressed in the same rapid manner as the United States. This is but too true. It must be borne in mind, however, that up to the breaking out of the war of 1812, Canada was in a chrysalis state, while the United States had her old Colonial institutions and her new ones under the republic well established. She had her Harvard and her Yale Colleges, all alive with years of intelligence and experience, throwing out their branches over the whole country ; while Canada had but the ill-paid pedagogue, living from house to house, instructing the young. The new republic had trade and manufactures, well cultivated farms, wealth and refinement, while Canada had none of these things. Her people were engaged in cutting down trees, sawing wood, and making pearl ashes for sale in Montreal. Her trade and manufactures restricted, her wealth but that of the few, and with but little time or opportunity to study the arts of refinement or obtain the culture of her more advanced and powerful neighbours, the advantage at this period was altogether in favour of the Americans. Canada had yet to make her mark.

In 1812 the tocsin of war between Great Britain and the United States was sounded. Actual hostilities commenced ; Canada was drawn into the vortex ; her fields were deserted, her firesides abandoned ; her men, aye, and her women too, were called to arms in defence of their homes. The old spirit of the U. E. Loyalist was aroused ; men rushed to the front to meet their neighbours of the republic in battle array. Never did men respond more willingly to the call. Had they not been hunted like deer across the waters of the St. Lawrence and into the thick forests of an unknown land ? They were not the men to avoid the issue when the gauntlet had been thrown down. It is not necessary to go over the incidents of that war, its victories or reverses for the one party or the other, their success by sea or land. It may be all summed up in this, that the war was not a popular one, at least with the Northern and Middle States of the republic, nor was it a war that the Canadians were in any way responsible for. Now for the results : again was Canada thrown back for a time in the march of improvement ; this, however, did not last many years. As soon as the men of the country got back to their farms, the mechanic to his workshop, the merchant

to his merchandise, the fields began to glisten with golden corn ; the saw, the plane, and the hammer to perform their office in the hands of the workmen ; the trader to sell his wares ; and Canada began to emerge from her past of darkness into glorious light. The motherland applauded her sacrifices. She sent out emigrants by thousands from her over-populated lands to become tillers of the soil in the new land. Houses began to go up, not of logs, as in former days, but well clap-boarded and weather-tight. Barns in which to garner the grain were no longer a rarity. Comfortable homesteads dotted the country in every direction. The schoolmaster was abroad ; there were seekers after knowledge as well as seekers after wealth. Much of the pent-up wrath that existed before the war and during the campaigns, ceased when peace was declared ; it seemed to have burnt out amid the blaze of the conflagration and the cannon's roar. When belligerents, in private quarrel, have had it out, as it is termed, they usually shake hands after the battle is over. So it was in the case of the war with the United States. When the war was over and a time had been given for rest, the kindred people, but of opposite camps, began to understand each other better. They began to see that it was possible for two peoples to live on the same continent in peace and contentment, each in its own way making progress in the march of civilization. There is one feature of the contest between the United States and Canada that has always tended to the advantage of the United States. That is in the matter of population. When people leave the old countries of Europe for new lands, they do so of course to improve their condition in life and for the advantage of their families and near relatives. They are taught to believe that the greatest happiness and comfort can be had under the flag of a republic. Liberty and freedom is the desire of all men. It was the spirit of liberty in the hearts of Englishmen that sent the Pilgrims to America. It is the same spirit which fills up, and has filled up the United States with men of all nationalities. Not so in Canada. It may be that she has liberty without license, freedom without faction ; yet, as she is the colony of a monarchy, she has not attracted to her shores the overflow population of the continent of Europe, but she has received thousands of English, Irish, and Scotch immigrants, who, without being as aggressive as the nationalities on the south side of the English Channel, yet have an endurance and solidity of purpose that

compares favorably with the more numerous and liberty-loving immigrants to the United States.

From the close of the war of 1812 down to 1837 Canada had uninterrupted peace. It is true that during that period the country was governed by an oligarchy. A select few had the reins of government and controlled all public affairs. A governor sent out from England and a council not responsible to the people managed things their own way. A great deal of bitterness existed in the minds of a large portion of the people at this state of things, and no doubt much injustice was done. The province, in having a legislature, imagined she had freedom, but she had it not. The executive, having control of the revenues and lands of the province, had great power, which they were not slow to exercise, and, naturally enough, to the advantage of themselves and their adherents; the people, in name only, not in substance, had a voice in the management of affairs. Contentions and violent ones often sprang up in the country. There were not wanting agitators to inflame the public mind. The Governor and the governed were playing at cross purposes. Notwithstanding all this the grass continued to grow and the waters to run. All of a sudden, when least expected, a rebellion broke out in the land, and Canada found herself in the midst of intense civil strife. Not a quarter of a century had intervened since the close of the war when this unfortunate country found herself once more plunged into a war, it is true not foreign, but a domestic war, a war of races, than which no more serious evil could affect any land. The French in the province of Lower Canada were in open revolt. The discontented Upper Canadians, tired with unsuccessful attempts at constitutional reform, took up arms to attain that liberty which the constitution had so far denied, that liberty of choice of the representatives to Parliament, whose decrees, when formulated, should have the impress of authority and fully carried out by an Executive responsible to the people. In this struggle much powder was expended, the revenues of the country taxed to the utmost, and many lives sacrificed before the demon of discord was subdued and peace again established in the land. By the rebellion, Canada was again thrown back in the march of improvement, a victim to misfortune and misrule. It was not till 1841, when a union between Upper Canada and Lower Canada was accomplished, that a change for the better took place. This union was a legislative union, the two provinces

being placed under the one government, responsible to the people, and one legislature, legislating for the whole people—a legislative, not a federal, union. It was then thought that this union was a panacea for all the ills to which the country was heir. The material interests of the united province began, no doubt, to improve; the trade relations between Canada and the United States were placed on a mutual beneficial footing. Banks sprang up, railways began to be built, and general progress made great headway. In fact, except that in increase of population Canada was behind the United States, she had not much to complain of. A stranger, contrasting one country with the other, might say that while the United States were faster in the race, Canada was more sure-footed, and not without hope of catching up with her esteemed neighbour. Scarcely a quarter of a century, however, passed over before the Canadians began again to be discontented, to deplore their lot.

The Legislative Union was not a success; the English governed but the French ruled. The English parties in the province were divided; the French were united. A solid phalanx of French Canadians, united with an Upper Canadian minority, could at any moment turn out any government. This was an evil which could not be endured; it must be cured. There must be one of these things, either a federal union of the Canadians and the Maritime Provinces, independence, or annexation to the United States. There were not wanting statesmen, both in Canada and the Maritime Provinces, who believed that by uniting all the provinces together in one federal compact, annexation to a foreign country might be avoided. That by these means, the French being given management of their local affairs yet in unison with the other provinces in general, legislation on the Canadian ship would be able to withstand all storms and sail into port safe and sound under the folds of the Union Jack.

The attempt had to be made at all events, and so a confederation of the Provinces was formed in 1867, welded together by Imperial legislation, since which time with a favourable breeze Confederated Canada has made vast advance in law, in legislation, in education, in trade, in commerce, in art, in manufactures, in railways, in banks, in fact in all the essentials that go to build up a nation.

It is only since the Confederation that Canada may be said to have had a fair start with her neighbour south of the great lakes.

Since Canada became a Dominion in 1867 she has not only attracted the attention of Great Britain in a marked and increased degree, but also the notice of other European nations, to which she was previously unknown. The Germans, the Norwegians, the Italians, the Icelanders and the Chinese have given us a contingent of their populations. It is a singular fact that there has been but little of French immigration. This, however, is not surprising when it is considered that that part of Canada which is French, notably the Province of Quebec, is not New France of to-day, but the Old France of the time of Louis XIV. A real Frenchman of the time of President Carnot and the Republic on coming to Canada would find that the lower Canadian French are nearly two hundred years behind their compatriots of France. They are not French, they are Canadien, French Canadien who retain all the old manners, all the old customs, all the old prejudice of old France, as it was before the French revolution.

In the Province of Quebec there exist church and state governments, more church than state government; in the Province of Quebec the Church rules the State, not the State the Church, a condition of things most distasteful not alone to the English, Irish and Scotch settled in that Province, but in other parts of the Dominion.

How long this state of things may last it is impossible to say, but the signs of the times point to a reform in that Province. With all this Canada has made immense strides since Confederation; she has enlarged her canals, extended her commerce, and built the Canadian Pacific Railway, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, destined to become the highway from Europe to India, China, Japan and the Australian Colonies. No such great work as the Canadian Pacific Railway has been constructed with more energy and in less time than was that great undertaking.

In concluding, let us hope that Canada will, as a sturdy oak or one of her stately elms, resist all attempts to tear her from her moorings and that the people of this fair land will stand by the Dominion flag and the Union Jack.

The Moral Character of the U. E. Loyalists.

BY DR. NATHANIEL BURWASH, CHANCELLOR OF VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY.

The history of a country is largely determined by the character of its people. Especially is this the case with the founders of a new nation. The outline of North American colonial history, the Revolution, and the dominant characteristics of the American national life may all be found in the type to be found on board the "Mayflower" and on Plymouth Rock.

The U. E. Loyalists were the founders of Upper Canada. As the first on the ground they gave shape to the usages of domestic and social life, to the methods of transacting business, to the first attempts at municipal institutions, to the religious life, and to the form of education of the new country. Other elements entered at a later date more or less homogeneous with these. In many instances they formed distinct settlements, Scotch, Irish, English, German; but these lacked the advantage of being first on the ground. The institutions of the country were started, and generally firmly rooted before they entered. They sometimes dominated a township or even a county. Amongst themselves they may have maintained a distinct language, as Gaelic or German, and distinct modes of life characteristic of their national origin. But these influences were local. They may have modified, but they have not given the fundamental mould to the life, the character, and the history of our Province. Perhaps the Scotch has been the most powerful and pervasive of these accessory forces which have influenced our national character, and yet it has failed to make us a Scotch rather than a Canadian people.

This Canadian character is sometimes spoken of as if it were composite in its origin. It has indeed been modified by various influences; but we think that we shall find its truly distinctive peculiarities in that grand old type from which our Upper Canadian life began.

It is impossible for us to-day to over-estimate the importance to our country of the fact that this type was a noble one. We speak this not as a matter of pride, but as a fact which has made

us what we are. This common character of our ancestry was very largely determined by the circumstances which forced them to this country. They were not banished to this land as convicts. They were not drawn to it as adventurers or by the love of sport. They did not rush forth to it for the love of gold. They did not move hither to better their circumstances. They did not seek it, as outlaws and vagabonds seek to get beyond the pale of civilization and law that they may escape the punishment due to their crimes, or may indulge their lawless and criminal passions without restraint. They came to this land leaving comfortable homes, the graves of their fathers, the associations of their childhood, the wealth accumulated by years of industry; and went forth to face discomfort and poverty and suffering and want for the sake of their principles. This was the common bond that united them from the Carolinas and Virginia on the South to New Hampshire and New York on the North. This was the "natural selection," to borrow Darwin's phrase, which sifted these sixty thousand out from the three millions of the Colonists and brought them to the provinces which now constitute our great Dominion. Our object in this brief paper is to study the working of this principle and the quality of the men whom it separated as Gideon's band to go North and found a new British nation.

The principle upon which the U. E. Loyalists were selected from the three millions of colonists of North America was one which is illustrated in the history of all lands. Two types of human character are to be found in all aggregations of humanity. The one is mobile, responsive to all new influences, strong in its impulses and active and energetic in its movements; the other is self-contained, is with difficulty moved from its customary habits of life and modes of thought, and moves only with great deliberation. The predominance of one or other of these types gives character to a nation and direction to its history. The Celt and the Gaul are examples of the first, the Teuton and the Saxon of the second. The first is distinguished by its intensity, the second by its more equable strength and continuity. The first is in sympathy with reforms, and originates new movements; and takes the lead in all real or supposed advance; the second perpetuates the good which comes to us as the heritage of the ages. Both have their degenerate forms. The first easily runs in license and lawlessness, into extravagance and fanaticism, in politics it easily heads an insurrection, in religion

it runs into schism, free thought and atheism; in business it launches into reckless speculation; in science it runs to fads and new theories. The second has its corresponding besetting sins. It may settle down into the sleepy round of what has been since the days of the Flood; in politics it maintains old forms of abuse and tyranny, and perpetuates worn out methods and forms; in religion it may substitute antiquity for truth, formal ceremony for the spirit of devotion; in business it may fail to recognize the new wants and the new opportunities of a new age and may waste its capital in building and working after the manner of the past; in politics we call the one type conservative and the other liberal; or we may say tory and whig or radical. But these names often confound real distinctions. The ultra tory sometimes without changing his name or party becomes the real liberal, and the liberal under the responsibilities of office becomes the true conservative. We must always study the real historical character of a movement or a policy rather than its name or the party from which it proceeds.

It was this principle which created the first great line of cleavage in the people of the North American Colonies. The conservative people, including the men of wealth and social standing, the official class and the clergy of at least three of the churches were not in favour of the extreme movements of the revolutionists. While they recognized the grievances of which complaint was made, they had everything to lose and nothing to gain by change; and both their interests and their habits were opposed to the revolutionists. It is said by competent authorities that one-third of the population, or a million people, might be reckoned in this class at the beginning of the war. Their active opponents probably did not number more, the other third being that class who will always fall to the prevailing side.

But conservatism alone would be very far from giving us the final winnowing principle of the U. E. Loyalist movement. It is said that one hundred thousand people left the new republic at the close of the war, *i. e.*, one in ten of what might be reckoned as the conservative element. The other nine, notwithstanding their indisposition to novelties, were content to remain and make the best of it under the new conditions. A tithe of the conservative third of the population were the chosen ones to go forth to build the new land of Men of the North. How were these separated from their fellow-citizens? and by what stamp of character were they distinguished?

It is impossible to find this line of separation in any peculiarity of national origin, or civic relation or industrial employment. It perhaps might be said that they were men of the rural parts rather than of the city. They had a very decided religious complexion. In Upper Canada the largest number were of the Church of England, next came a very considerable body of Methodists, and a number of Quakers, Mennonites, Dutch Reformed, Lutherans, and Baptists, and a body of Highland Roman Catholics. It might be said of them all that they were men of decided religious character and convictions. The absence of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, if not complete, was notable. But this decidedly religious character of the whole body by no means explains the bond which united them. A far larger number of all these religious persuasions remained behind. It is true that the Anglican clergy and the Methodist preachers were especially obnoxious to the revolutionary party, and were subjected to a very bitter persecution. The great majority of the Anglican clergy returned to England, and but two or three accompanied their people to the northern wilds. The great body of the Methodist preachers stood to their posts and soon built up the most powerful religious body in the new republic. But out of three hundred Methodist preachers and sixty thousand members at the close of the last century but five preachers and a few hundred members were found in Canada. The body of U. E. Loyalists was thus not built up along ecclesiastical lines, though the fact that some churches were strongly represented and others not so indicates something like a cleavage in that direction. Some of the Anglican clergy, including Bishop Seabury, were of the revolutionary party, and were sufficient in numbers to form the nucleus of the American Protestant Episcopal Church and were able to retain a large part of their adherents in the country. The natural or political selection of the tithe who went out was thus not formed along ecclesiastical lines. Nor was there any ecclesiastical affinity even among the loyalists themselves to unite them in their purpose before or after their arrival in Canada. The Anglicans and Methodists each despised the other in their own way and for their own reasons. Both were widely separated from the Highland Catholics; the Baptists were not congenial to either; and the only ecclesiastical affinity apparent was between the Anglicans and Lutherans, or between the Quakers and Methodists. And yet all were each in his own

way truly earnest and decidedly religious people. This at least was one definite feature of their moral character and if it was not the proximate cause of their loyalty, it was at least in harmony with it. Whether therefore we regard the U.E. Loyalists as driven out of the Republic by positive persecution or as going into voluntary exile for the sake of their political principles, we have still to enquire why they alone of all their fellow-citizens of the same political cast of characters, of the same political convictions, and at the beginning and even throughout the course of the war taking the same side in their sympathies and at least passive relations, why these alone were driven out or went out for conscience' sake? Even supposing that they were all driven out, we cannot regard it as a matter of accident that these individually were driven out by force or made so uncomfortable in their environment that they fled from uncongenial neighbourhood. The answer to this question is not far to seek. They were the men of such strong character, of such decided convictions that a passive life was to them a decided impossibility. They were not your men of policy, men who can be all things to all men. They were not men to whom temporal or financial interests were supreme, and who could hold even political convictions subordinate to the interests of property. They were men of that strong personality which must assert its right of individual liberty of thought and action. They were men with the courage of their convictions. They have been painted as men of the slavish spirit, men who were too tame to strike for liberty. But strike for liberty was just the very thing which they did. But they regarded the all-surrounding tyranny of an insolent faction, the tyranny which was at their doors and over their daily life as far more repugnant to their sense of liberty than the occasional tax or legislative interference of a King and Parliament three thousand miles away. With such decided character it was impossible but that they should be men of mark under any circumstance in which they might be placed. If this strongly defined character had been in harmony with the popular feeling of the day they would be the heroes of the hour. But when it was antagonistic they were doomed to persecution and exile if not to death.

This strength of character which sifted the U. E. Loyalists out from among all the weaker and more plastic spirits of their time, and which made them the peers as well as the opponents of the strong spirits on the other side, the leaders of the revolution, was

not a characteristic to disappear in a single generation ; it has perpetuated itself for four generations of our history, as has been well pointed out by Sir John Bourinot. The leading names among the sixty thousand of a hundred years ago are still leading names among the six millions of to-day. At the end of the first generation they were at the front in 1812, at the end of the second they were the men to step forward in 1837, at the end of the third they were again at the front in 1866, and their names are not wanting in the South Africa Contingents of 1899 1900. This peculiar strength of character is a grandly hereditary trait, and hence a most important element in the young life of a new nation. It has since been reinforced by the more adventurous and liberal spirit of the " Westward Ho !" men of England, Ireland and Scotland which is again an element of strongly marked character ; but this new strain has never superseded the original parentage which gave Anglo-Saxon foundation and character both to Upper Canada and the Maritime Provinces. It must not be forgotten that the element which was thus sifted out to form the basis of our national life in Canada was by the very same part and process eliminated from the foundations of national life in the Republic. Our gain was their loss—and it was a loss which was not compensated by subsequent additions to their population. The immigrant element is always the opposite of conservative, except when driven out by persecution, as in the case of the Doukhobors and Mennonites who have recently come to us. The millions who have crowded to the United States have been of the restless, progressive class, the class who are ever forgetting the old and seeking the new. They have intensified rather than moderated the revolutionary spirit of the founders of that nation. The difference in national character between the north and the south of the great lakes has thus become more marked with the lapse of time, and since the close of the first generation there never was less tendency towards annexation than there is to-day. We have, it is true, received by immigration a large infusion into our population of adventurous blood. But its effect has been not to intensify an adventurous original stock, but to give greater energy and movement to the old conservative life. At times, as in thirty-seven and forty-nine, too large an influx of this strain produced a little annexation talk ; but the effervescence speedily sifted over to Michigan and Wisconsin and California, and the rest has easily been assimilated into our strong, steady

Canadian life. In contrast with our neighbours to the south we are sometimes called slow. We certainly are not as noisy, as bustling, as restless as they are. We perhaps do not launch out as readily into speculations and untried experiments. But if we build more slowly we build more solidly, and the final result will be, we think, a stronger and more perfect and desirable type of national life and character.

But to return to the U. E. Loyalists; we have seen that their character was of the conservative type and that it was strong. These two were the distinctive forces of the selection by which they were separated from the American people. But these two are very far from exhausting the important elements of their moral character. We have already noted, by the way, that they were a very religious people. Methodists, Baptists, Quakers and Mennonites were not in those days such as matters of mere traditional form. The Anglicans and Lutherans, who completed the count of religious bodies, by their subsequent history in this province gave full proof of the strength and earnestness of their religious convictions. These religious convictions resulted at once in the establishment under great difficulties of the ordinances of religious worship. Coeval with the building of their own humble cabins, there arose equally modest places of worship, erected and maintained, with a single exception, by their own unaided efforts. As a result perhaps in no country in Christian lands is attendance upon Christian worship more generally characteristic of the people. Scotland alone can be compared with Canada in that respect. They were a lawabiding people. This we should certainly expect from a people who sacrificed everything for the sake of their loyalty. But that statement conveys no adequate impression of their unquestioning submission and profound attachment to the established and legal institutions of their country. The authority of these things was to them as imperative as that of their religious faith. They could see quickly enough defects and wrongs in the men who administered law, but to them the law itself was right and not to be changed. To dream of such a thing as reforming the law or the constitution was to their minds sacrilege and sin. The law-making and law-changing spirit of modern democracy had never invaded their thoughts. Some of us can very clearly recall the spirit of our grandfathers on this point. But in other ways this sacred regard for law was manifest. In their isolated settlements they did not wait for the

institutions of law and government to reach them from London or Quebec, but at once put in motion the necessary local machinery to preserve a lawful order in their neighbourhoods until due authority could reach them from the King's representative. There was absolutely among them no mob law or lynch law, and crime itself was scarcely known for years.

There are many other characteristics of this people upon which time will not permit us to dwell at length, but which all exerted a most important influence upon the future of our country. Their patient industry converted the wilderness into a garden. Their frugal habits of life laid the foundations of wealth. Their kindly neighbourly spirit of mutual helpfulness created some peculiar primitive institutions, which are now almost forgotten because no longer needful to our modern life.

Such is a very imperfect presentation of the moral qualities of our forefathers. They are perhaps not the most popular qualities, they are certainly not of the brilliant and showy type. But they are qualities without which no people can become great and strong with permanent strength, and they are qualities as necessary to true freedom and successful self-government, as they are to the permanency and strength of national institutions. We can only hope that these sterling qualities of the fathers of our country may abide with us to all generations, and that no flashlights of liberty, falsely so called, may turn us aside from the course of national destiny which their strong sense and loyal spirit have marked out for us.

Extracts from an Old U. E. L. Journal.

BY MRS. STEPHEN M. JARVIS.

Having by the great kindness of that distinguished and venerated member of our Association, Mrs. John Ridout, been permitted to read the journal of her grandfather, Chief Justice Powell of Upper Canada, I have thought that others might be equally interested, particularly as one of the objects of our Association is to preserve the papers and traditions of the early settlement of this province.

The Chief Justice was one of whom Canada may well be proud. In law, in politics, in society, a leader, he lived to see the land he came to as a refugee and an exile, prosperous and happy, and knew that he might in some measure feel that it was owing to his labours. The paper that he wrote in 1833, the year before his death, was more a retrospect of his life than a journal.

And here let me add just a word of appeal and of reproach. The difficulty of procuring papers is greatly felt by the Hon. Asst. Secretary in the present as it was by the former Assistant Secretary. Either through shyness, or want of interest, papers are withheld, or sometimes promised, and the moment a difficulty arises or a date cannot be found, all idea of writing is given up, thus greatly disappointing the Secretary, upon whom seems to fall the onus of procuring suitable papers. To fill a gap of this kind this paper is now written, with the hope that others more competent may follow a very humble example.

To return to our subject; not a month ago a gentleman in Toronto said, "But the 'Old Chief,' as he is called, was not a United Empire Loyalist at all; he came from England, and was a barrister of the Inner Temple of London, who came out to practice law in Montreal." One object of these extracts is to prove that this is a very serious error. The Powells had, for generations before the Revolution of 1773, lived in Boston. John Powell, a member of the Ap Howell family of Shropshire, in England, and formerly of Caer Howell, in Wales, married Anne, the daughter and heiress of Jeremy Dummer, Chief Justice and President of the Council of Massachusetts, and sister of William Dummer, Lieut.-Governor of Massachusetts in 1716, whose very beautiful portrait still hangs over the civic chair in Boston, taken in the court dress of the Cavaliers, in the time of the Stuarts.

The mother of the Chief was Jane, daughter and heiress of Sweton Grant, Esq., of Rhode Island, an aristocratic Scotch family that settled there at an early date. His wife was a Miss Murray, of the Philipshaugh family, whose estate covered the ground in New York now known as the site of the Murray Hill Hotel. The Powells, like most of the wealthy families of Boston at that time, sent their children to England to be educated, and the Chief with four sisters, was thus sent.

This accounts for his being a barrister of the Inner Temple, but he had returned to Boston, and was successfully practising Law there when the Revolutionary storm of 1773 burst. Belonging to families of note, and fearless in expressing his opinions, he at once became obnoxious to the "Boston Tea Party," and was soon obliged to turn his back on his native city, and on all his shattered hopes of success as well as on the friends of his youth, and flee, a wanderer through trackless forests, for safety to Canada, going on foot to the shores of the St. Lawrence to Montreal. At the latter place we find him in 1783 practising law, married, surrounded by his family, and here our interest in his writings begins. All that he did for Upper Canada will never be known to this generation. To his political life he scarcely refers. We know that he was in Parliament and Speaker of the House in 1816. He writes:—"Till this time (1783) "Canada from Gaspè to Detroit was governed under the Act "14th, George III., called the 'Quebec Bill,' a wise and just law "as related to the conquered French subjects, but in no wise apt "to console the loyal refugees from the United States." Mr. Powell set on foot a petition to the King and Parliament,—a Commission was appointed—Mr. Holland and Mr. Collins were named. The Surveyor-General, William Smith, then wrote to Mr. Powell, "My Lord Dorchester perceived a utility in joining to the Conference a gentleman of the law, and you'll find "your name for that purpose, in the hope that you will not "decline the service." Mr. Powell goes on to say "Although no "patent could be procured for their lands, the settlers, encouraged by an extra visit of the two Commissioners, cultivated "the soil, in full confidence, and rendered the shores of these "two great rivers, the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence, the admiration of visitors from old and wealthy countries." The petition to the King and Parliament was carried to the foot of the Throne by Mr. Powell, and delivered in person to Lord Sydney,

the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The further review of the Act 14th, George III. required more delay, and was the subject of deep consideration for seven years, when it resulted in the present Charter, the 31st George III. c. 31.

On the return of Mr. Powell from England he "found the country inundated with his fellow-sufferers, the expatriated Loyalists, under the government of Lord Dorchester, their cherished Chief, who—as Sir Guy Carleton—had witnessed their loyal struggles to defend the 'Unity of the Empire,' and was full of compassion for their situation. With a prophetic eye for their future he had placed them upon land aloof from the French population, and above the ancient grants of Seigniories, to expect their future estates, as they now hold them, in fee and common soccage."

Having done all he could for the United Empire Loyalists about Sherbrooke, Sorel and the Ottawa, Mr. Powell was, in 1785, appointed Judge at Detroit, where he remained till the Government was formed in Niagara in 1791.

In Mr. Powell's journal are many letters of personal interest, too long to be copied in this paper, one a petition for a "vacant spot of land, lying between the upper boundary of the Seigniory of M. de Lothbinière and the lower boundary of that of M. de Longueuil" is interesting, and was granted.

The order, signed by J. Williams, runs :—

"ORDERED, That the Surveyor General report a survey of three thousand acres corresponding as nearly as may be with the location described by the Petitioner."

This is now of local interest as Lt.-Colonel Herbert Nanton, a great-great-grandson of the Chief's, who has lately done good service in South Africa, has just returned to India with his wife, a daughter of Sir Henry de Lothbiniere.

I may here add that the Captain Ogilvy, of Montreal, whose sad death in South Africa was much regretted in England, as well as in Canada, was another great-great-grandson, his mother, a Miss Powell, of Niagara, having several times danced with our King when he was here in 1860.

This "vacant spot of land" did good service at a later date, enabling Judge Powell "to undertake in 1807 a very expensive voyage to England and Spain to secure the freedom of a young son of great promise, who started out to see the world and got led into the expedition of Miranda. He was captured by

“Spaniards in the Province of Venezuela. As the character of the invasion could be only high treason in a subject, or piracy in foreigners, he was sentenced to suffer the punishment of labour and imprisonment for ten years in Omon as a commutation of the sentence of death on account of his youth. Don Manuel de la Torre was the representative of Spain in London at that time, and the Hon. Mr. Wyndham was the head at Downing St.” Armed with letters from them, Judge Powell arrived at the Court of Aranjuez on the 4th of June, 1807, presented his petition to the Prince of Peace on the 6th, and on the 10th received the crown of his labours in so full and gracious a manner as to afford pleasure at this distance of time.” This was written in 1833. He goes on to say, “This journey to Spain upon so interesting a subject had introduced him to a great variety of character in which it was delightful to observe, that in the highest circles—for he was admitted to close interview with nobles and princes—he uniformly discovered the most liberal, condescending and delicate kindness in the highest ranks, and he feels called on to say that a poor and obscure Protestant foreigner received the most ardent and powerful countenance from the respective Nuncios of His Holiness the Pope, at Lisbon and Madrid. He lingers with extreme gratification on the event of his successful expedition.

“On his return to Canada he was made speaker of the Legislative Assembly, and had to go again to England to receive his appointment there.

“He had now attained the summit of preferment and could not avoid reflecting that the Province in some measure owed its existence to his exertions in 1783, when he carried to the foot of the Throne the petition in favour of the loyal refugees. He had now attained the summit of reasonable expectation, or even hope.

“In the great meeting of his fellow subjects, in the exercise of their most flattering privilege—that of making laws for their own government—he held a most surprising pre-eminence, second only to the representative of his Sovereign, having his family about him in prominent stations in the drama.

“His eldest son, Clerk of the Parliament, his second son, Clerk of the Commons, his son-in-law, Clerk of the Crown. At the age of seventy he wished to retire. The King granted a pension of one thousand pounds a year, and the Chief retired to England

"but soon longed for his family in Canada, to which he returned, "and where he died in 1834, full of years and honours, and was, "according to his own wish, carried to his grave in the Caer Howell Burying Ground 'on the shoulders of men,' desiring to "avoid all pomp and ostentation."

His remains have since been removed to St. James' Cemetery, the consecrated family burying-ground being now used for a public school in Caer Howell Street, just west of the College Avenue, which he and Chief Justice Robinson gave to the city.

We cannot close these few notes of the career of this remarkably able and energetic man, without alluding to the Clergy Reserve Question, which became before and after his death a burning question and war cry in the politics of Canada, causing the breaking up of two administrations and of life-long friendships.

Having been instrumental in getting from the Home Government lands for the maintenance and endowment of the Protestant Church, he could not reconcile it to his conscience to see these lands go solely to the Church of England, having witnessed for long years the untiring zeal of the Presbyterians and Methodists in carrying the Gospel to every hamlet in Upper Canada long before the Church of England sent anyone to minister to the poor settlers.

This did not tend to make the Chief see at all times "eye to eye" with Dr. Strachan, who by that time had become a power in Canada.

It is gratifying to see that the judicial sagacity and foresight of the Chief were verified in the ultimate settlement of the question nearly a quarter of a century after his death.

Of the family of the Chief, Mrs. Ridout and her brother, Mr. Grant Powell, Under Secretary of State, retired in Ottawa, with General Jarvis and his brother, Mr. George Murray Jarvis, are the only living grandchildren, but of great and great-great-grandchildren there is no end. His daughter, Mary Boyles Powell, married Samuel Peters Jarvis, the elder son of the Hon. William Jarvis, known as "the Secretary," having come with General Simcoe from England in 1792. He is spoken of in the journal as "Clerk of the Crown," and was also Commissioner of Indian Lands. That branch of the family is now represented in Toronto by the families of Æmilius Jarvis and Mrs. J. J. Kingsmill.

The elder son of this "Clerk of the Crown," General Samuel Peters Jarvis, lives in England. He was one of the first pupils of Upper Canada College. He served in India during the Mutiny, was present at the relief of Lucknow, also at the defeat of the Gwalior Contingent at Cawnpore, and at several other severe engagements, for which he received a medal and clasps. After spending many long years in the British service in India, he returned to Canada, in 1870, as Assistant Adjutant-General. He commanded the Ontario Battalion during their arduous march to Fort Garry under Lord Wolseley. He remained there as Commandant till the forces were withdrawn. For these services he was created by Her late Majesty, a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. In 1878 he was sent to South Africa on Special Service connected with the Kaffir War.

The grand daughter of the Chief, another Mary Boyles Powell, married Sheriff William Botsford Jarvis, of Rosedale, and has left numerous Jarvis, Meredith, Nanton and Ord descendants.

Their sons have also been "Soldiers of the Queen." The elder, William Dummer Jarvis, served with the 12th Regiment in South Africa, with the North York Volunteers in the Fenian Raid, in 1866, and in the North West Mounted Police under Col. (now General Sir) George French. On the return of Col. French to England the command of the N.W.M.P. devolved for a time on Lieut.-Col. Jarvis.

The younger son, Lt.-Col. Robert Colborne Jarvis, joined the 100th Regiment in Canada; exchanged into the 67th Regiment. He, like his cousin General Jarvis, has spent his life in India, except while at Sandhurst at the Staff College. He was with the first English troops sent to Japan; was also on the staff of Lord Roberts during the famous march to Kandahar; was many times mentioned in despatches. While being proud of the career of his descendants, we do not forget that "the pen is mightier than the sword" and that the pen of their Chief, combined with his knowledge of law and equity, helped to lay firmly the foundations of Justice and Loyalty in Canada.

Mrs. Ridout's mother was a member of the old Dutch family of Bleecker and related to the Van Rensselaers, who were Patroons of Albany when New York was still New Amsterdam, and in the hands of the Dutch. Bleecker Street is named after this sweet, gentle, old lady, whom very few people may remember residing in Toronto in the fifties. William, Dummer, and Caer Howell, Murray and Ord Streets were also named after the family.

A Canadian U. E. Loyalist at Waterloo.

A FAMILY SKETCH BY REV. CANON ALEXANDER WELLESLEY MACNAB,
OF TORONTO.

"Arma virumque cano."

I take it for granted that my hearers, and future readers (if there be any) of this sketch will be interested in the subject through their own loyal prejudices, and because they, of all others, can truly appreciate devotion to the cause of Imperial Unity whenever, wherever, and in whomsoever this virtue may be found.

Our subject has, at least, the merit of uniqueness, for, so far as we know, Captain Macnab was the only representative of our fair city of Toronto, the only Canadian U. E. Loyalist who took part in that famous battle of June 18th, 1815, when the flower of the French army, under Napoleon himself, was shattered by the Iron Duke and his brave troops, before ever the tardy Prussian commander appeared on the field to participate in that signal victory which spelled "Progress" for the British Empire. And the fact of this young Torontonion (the first Canadian to receive a commission in the Imperial Service, over a hundred years ago) devoting himself to fight for King and cause in foreign lands seems to mark a pioneer-step towards that Imperialism which has always characterized loyal Canadians.

For however much we love this Canada of ours and devote ourselves to its best interests, we are *British* first. And it may be laid down as a national axiom that the disloyal or unpatriotic Englishman, Scot, or Irishman, will produce a very inferior specimen of a Canadian citizen. The subject of our monograph was not THE MACNAB (of whom so many legends are told), but only one of those OTHER Macnabs whose names are written in British history, and who were not found wanting when loyal allegiance to their rightful Sovereign, or patriotic devotion to their country's cause was demanded of them. The late Baronet of Dundurn, Sir Allan Macnab (the original *other* Macnab) was but following clan tradition when, in the rebellion of 1837, he, as leader of the "Men of Gore," drove the rebel followers of William Lyon Mackenzie out of Toronto, and forced them back step by step to their final stronghold and refuge on Navy



CAPTAIN ALEXANDER MACNAIR.
2nd Battalion 30th Regiment.

Island in the Niagara river, and later on completed their discomfiture by the bold *coup* of cutting out the American steamer *Caroline*, (which was being used to carry supplies to the rebels) and sending her a burning wreck over the Falls—a wholesome warning to her owners, and others concerned, of the folly of any such attempt to monkey with the lion's tail. Captain Alexander Macnab was the second son of Doctor James Macnab (my great grandfather) one of Canada's pioneer physicians, who served as chief assistant surgeon to the Loyalist forces during the American Revolutionary campaign, and at the close of the war in 1776 took up his residence in Canada. The following certificate, in my possession, may be of interest:

"I do certify that I was well acquainted with Dr. James Macnab when he acted as assistant surgeon to the Loyalists during the first war with America, and that I attended him in his last illness at Machiche, in Lower Canada, where he died about the beginning of the year 1780."

(Signed)

ROBERT KERR,

York, 23rd February, 1818.

Surgeon I. Department.

Although it is on record that Colonel Archibald Macnab, of the famous Black Watch, fought under General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham at the taking of Quebec, yet my great-grandfather, Surgeon James Macnab, was the earliest representative of our clan to make Canada his home.

His family had settled many years before in Virginia, where they possessed considerable property near Norfolk, Elizabeth county. As was the case with many other U.E. Loyalist families, this property was confiscated by the American government (I know of no indemnity being offered or received) when at the close of the War of Independence the Loyalists were obliged to become American citizens or else leave the country.

This was by no means the first or only sacrifice the Macnabs have been called upon to make because of their sturdy loyalty. The story of their expatriation from the ancestral home in the Highlands of Perthshire is a romance that has also many elements of tragic interest to any "brither Scot" who may hear or chance to read this paper.

The Clan of Mac-an-Abb or Macnab, is a very ancient one, and takes rank amongst the noted and time-honoured houses of Scotland. The antiquity of the family is at least suggested in

that humorous legend which relates that at the time of the Flood the Macnabs were so well established on the earth that they possessed "a boat of their own," and were thus quite independent of Noah and his ark. The fact of a boat being emblazoned on our coat of arms lends a touch of colour, though not substantiality, to this clan tradition.

The name MACNAB, like so many ancient Scottish patronymics, is undoubtedly of ecclesiastical origin. The names of MacVicar, son of the Vicar; MacPherson, son of the Parson; MacBriar, son of the Prior; Buchanan, son of the Canon, and many others, may serve to remind us of the well known historical fact that celibacy was not enjoined upon the Celtic clergy of those days. It was quite natural, therefore, that somewhere about the time when William the Norman was getting his grip on English rule, the Abbot of Glendochart should have a son, a gallant and comely youth, known in the neighborhood as Mac-an-Abba, son of the Abbot, and he it was who became, later on, the founder of the Clan Macnab, of which we find earliest mention as a distinct sept in the annals of Scotland during the reign of King David I. in the beginning of the twelfth century. Dr. Macmillan, F.R.S.E., in his historical sketch of Killin, says, "There never was a clan more autochthonous than the Macnabs, they seemed to belong to the land like the fraoch, or heather, which is a badge of the clan, in such a way that they could never be dispossessed. All the traditions and associations of the locality gather around their ancient name."

If ever you visit Scotland you would find it quite worth while to make a pilgrimage to Killin, at the south end of Loch Tay, considered by poet and painter to be one of the most picturesque places in all that land of splendid scenery. Amongst its famous treasures you will be shown Innis Buie, the island burial place of the Macnabs. A strangely weird and hallowed spot is this Machpelah of our clan. Roughly shaped like a coffin, the island, comprising several acres, deeply wooded, lies in the midst of the fierce and turbulent waters of the river Dochart, once famous for its pearls. Ancient cup-marks and other excavations in the stones point to the probability of its being originally a place of Druidic worship or sacrifice. Dean Stanley, who visited Innis Buie in 1856, says, "the true charm of Killin belongs to this burial place of the Macnabs, which, by its position in the river, reminds one of that primi-

tive superstition which required that the dead should be carried to burial over a stream of water." At the head of the avenue of venerable trees traversing the centre of the island stands the tomb of the chiefs, a stone mausoleum with massive grey walls open to the sky, crowned with great spherical stones and busts of rudest sculpture. Here are buried all the chiefs of the clan, except the 13th and last laird, who died abroad, and outside the quaint enclosure many generations of clansmen rest beneath the yellow moss, their epitaphs in Gaelic and ancient lettering, now almost beyond deciphering. Speaking of epitaphs, mention might be made of one which for Scotch caution and unvarnished truth stands unparalleled. Many hundred years ago the Macnabs ended a long-standing feud with the rival clan of MacNeish by engaging in a pitched battle with their hereditary enemies.

Forth from the chieftain's castle of Eilan Rowan came

"Haughty Macnab with his giants behind him,
And the lions of Dochart close by his side."

From sunrise to sunset the two fierce clans engaged in deadly combat until victory was declared for the Macnabs, though at the cost of several hundred fighting men, who were brought back to Killin on their shields, and ferried across the river to the weird wail of the coronach, the bagpipes sounding the mournful strains of "*The Macnabs' Lament*." Over their common grave on Innis Buie was placed a Gaelic inscription which is said to have read thus: "*Here lie many of the Macnabs. Further particulars will be made known at the Last Day.*"

Many years ago the Earl of Ellesmere, while visiting Killin, wrote the following pathetic lines on "The Burial Place of the Macnabs":

"How oft are the pictures, which time most endears
To remembrance, in sadness arrayed;
And such to my vision the scene re-appears
Where by Dochart's dark waters we strayed,
And listened, well-pleased, to the chronicler's lore,
The last of his race, like the wreck of the waves
Which lingers alone on the surf-beaten shore,
Where the wild river, fed from the rills of Ben-More,
Encircles the Island of Graves.

"There are lessons to virtue and warnings to pride
Still breathed where the mighty are lain,
From the moss-covered cairn by the lone mountain side
To Marathon's mound of the slain.

But a voice e'en more solemn breathes over the ground
 Where death to his many-celled garner of earth
 Has gathered for ages the children around
 Of a race that has vanished, a name that may sound
 No more in the land of its birth.

"Where, where has it vanished? The breeze as it sweeps
 The Atlantic and bears, as it flies,
 A breath from the forest which fringes the deeps
 Of the rushing Saint Lawrence, replies—
 Replies that, however in Albyn that name
 Has become like a tale of past years that is told,
 On the shores of Lake Erie that race is the same,
 And as true to the land of its birth and its fame
 As its gallant forefathers of old.

"Oh, had they been other when many betrayed
 That land of their birth to its foes;
 Would a son of their chieftain have dared to invade
 The spot where his fathers repose?
 Like a branch with the honors of spring on its head,
 With the air of a chief in his mien and his tread,
 He came without fear to that place of the dead,
 For he knew that the tenant of each narrow bed
 Would hail him as worthy of them.

"But not by the side of those fathers to rest
 Does their summons go forth from the grave;
 They bid thee return to thy home in the west,
 Where the living have claims on the brave.
 And yet when thy bark shall have traversed the main
 To the hearths where thy clansmen have carried their fires,
 'Mid the shout of their welcome reject not the strain
 Which mourns for the stranger who comes not again,
 But tells him he came not unmarked or in vain
 To the island where slumber his sires."

The misfortunes of this once powerful clan and their gradual dispersion began early in 1700, when their lands were ravaged and much property confiscated because of their devotion to the Stuart. Again in 1745 the clan took up arms in support of Prince Charlie, and were conjoined with the Duke of Perth's regiment at Culloden. I have here a set of quaint silver buttons which adorned the tartan jacket of the Laird of Macnab on that fateful field when the Stuart cause was finally lost (it wasn't every Highlander who returned from that bloody conflict with all his buttons on!). To this same gallant chieftain Prince Charlie gave his last possession, a valuable ring, in token of his appreciation of the Macnabs' loyalty to him in his misfortunes.

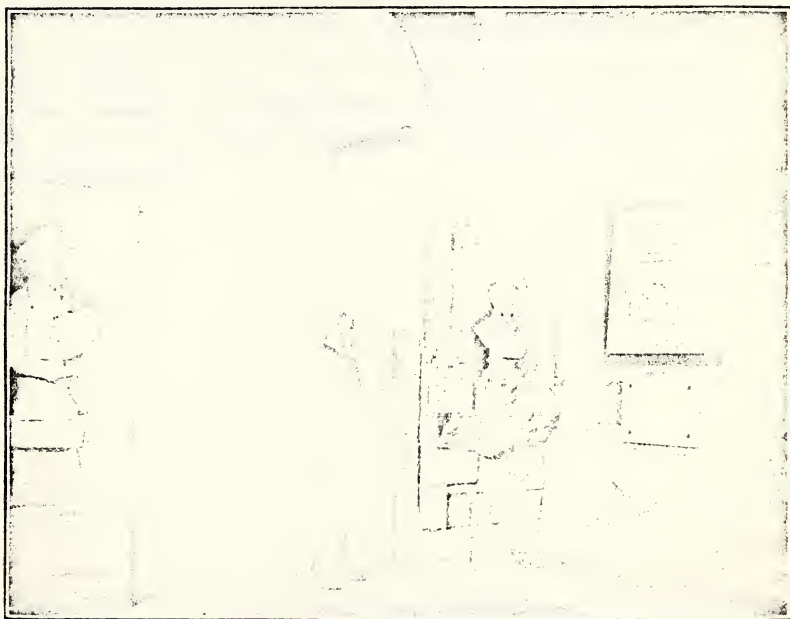
The devotion of the Scottish Loyalist clans and their tremendous sacrifices on behalf of the royal Stuarts constitute one of those national mysteries which no history truly explains, and we certainly shall not attempt to discuss it here. Suffice it to say that it was their inborn loyalty, dominating even the spirit of patriotism, which resulted in my ancestors forsaking the land of their fathers and becoming settlers in the New World amongst the F.F.V.'s of Old Virginia.

Some years after Dr. James Macnab's death, his son Alexander became a resident of Toronto, and owned considerable property on Bay street and at the junction of Queen and Dundas streets. In the year 1797 he was sworn in as confidential clerk to the Executive Council of the Province of Upper Canada, and entered upon his duties when Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake) was the seat of government. After three years of clerical work, in no wise to his taste—for the military instinct in him was strong—an event occurred which enabled him to exchange the pen for the sword. In 1800 he entered upon his military career, which brought him to a soldier's death and a hero's fame on the bloody field of Waterloo. Some years ago my father chanced to meet in England the veteran General Gore and learned from him, who had been Captain Macnab's greatest friend, many characteristics of his Canadian uncle, how popular he was with the officers and men of his regiment, how brave and steady in time of danger, how patient and God-fearing in fulfilling his obligations in camp or on the battle-field. Just before the engagement with the French army at Waterloo these brothers-in-arms took snuff with each other, according to the custom of those days, and with a clasp of the hand parted, never to meet again. And the white-headed old general, with tears in his eyes made my father take a pinch of snuff from the same box, as he related the story of his friend's virtues and soldierly qualities.

Young Macnab was first gazetted as ensign in the Queen's Rangers, 1800. In 1803 he joined the 26th Foot. In 1804 he became lieutenant in the 30th Cambridgeshire regiment, obtaining his captaincy five years later.

He served throughout the Peninsular campaign, and was more than once conspicuous for the gallantry he displayed when under fire. Later on he was promoted to the headquarters staff as A.D.C. to General Sir Thomas Picton, and with his brave leader fell in action at Waterloo, June 18th, 1815. In

the old village church there his name appears on the tomb erected in memory of the British officers slain that day. As this gallant young Canadian lay mortally wounded on the battlefield he left instructions with his orderly, who had remained with him to the last, to convey his watch, ring, sword and regimental sash, with messages to his relatives in Scotland and Canada. And finally committing his body to the earth, and commending his soul to God, in the name and through the merits of Christ, his Saviour, our hero breathed his last amid the din of battle and confusion of strife.



A CANADIAN CORNER IN THE CRYPT OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

His dying request was faithfully executed and I have here the sword and the watch which were worn on that memorable day.

In 1868 my father, as heir-at-law of Captain Macnab, applied to the War Office for the medal that would have been awarded to his uncle had he survived the battle of Waterloo. The home authorities recognized the claim and ordered a Waterloo medal to be inscribed with the name of Captain Alex. Macnab, 2nd Battalion, 30th Regiment, and it was in due course of time presented to my father by the Commander-in-Chief, the aged Duke of Cambridge.

In addition to this special favor, the Chelsea Hospital Commissioners, consisting of certain members of the cabinet and veteran officers, finding a considerable sum of money lying to the credit of the deceased officer (though an Act had been passed many years before, cancelling all claims for prize money), paid the amount over to my father, the late Dr. Macnab, Rector of Darlington.

In 1876 the dean and chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral, in the metropolis of the Empire, graciously permitted my father and myself to place a marble tablet in the crypt of that great basilica to the memory of our gallant uncle. This was the first instance of permitting any colonial monument to be erected in the great Valhalla of the British Empire. On the other side of the arched passage in the crypt there stands now a well-executed marble bust of our famous Canadian statesman, the late Sir John A. Macdonald.

A Sketch of the Pennock and McIlmoyl Families.

BY SARAH S. LEGGO AND MARY ELIZABETH WALKER.

THE PENNOCK FAMILY.

The first Pennock to come to America is believed to have come over with William Penn in 1681. He came from Scotland, and with his family settled at Philadelphia, and a portion of the City of Philadelphia is built upon the land upon which they settled. They were Quakers. Some sixty years ago a letter was received from one Phoebe Pennock, of Philadelphia, by Samuel Pennock, of Brockville, commencing as follows:—"Dear Brother, Thy name bewrayeth thee that thou art of our kin." In it she stated that the City of Philadelphia was partly built upon the Pennock property; that James Pennock had seven sons; that four were killed in the Revolutionary war, and one had left with the intention of returning to Scotland, but was never heard of afterwards; that they had a family rallying cry, in consequence of James Pennock having lost one of his gold knee buckles, it was "Have ye found the golden buckle"; and that James Pennock was killed while felling timber in the bush, but lived long enough to tell his negro servant, who was with him at the time, how he wanted his property divided, and his dying request was sacredly carried out. She further said that some few years before her writing, in sinking the foundation for a building, the lost buckle was found in a good state of preservation; that Dr. John Pennock had visited Scotland and Canada trying in vain to discover the descendants of that absent son; that she had seen the name of Samuel Pennock in a paper from Canada, and knew that we belonged to the family; that they had a genealogical tree, seven feet high, and four broad, with the names of the Pennock family on it, but one branch was missing, and asked that all the names of the family be sent to be added.

Some of the Philadelphia Pennocks removed to Hebron, in the then English colony of Connecticut, and we have information from records there showing that James Pennock, the first one of whom we have any accurate information, lived at Hebron before going to Vermont. There are records of deeds at Hebron as follows:—Deed of Samuel Pennock, dated September 6th, 1721; deed of James Pennock, dated May 4th, 1742; deed of Samuel

Pennock to his son William, April 19th, 1750 ; also a record of the birth of Elizabeth Pennock, daughter of James Pennock, born November 9th, 1742, and Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Pennock, died August 20th, 1727. Samuel Pennock died April 15th, 1762.

James, William and Elizabeth were the children of Samuel, and the James above mentioned is our great-great-grandfather. He lived and died in Vermont.

At Stafford, Vermont, in the burying ground is his tombstone, upon which is the following inscription :—

“ Here rests the remains of James Pennock and M. Thankful,

“ James Pennock died

Thankful Root Pennock

“ Novr. 2nd, 1806

died Decr. 23rd, 1798,

“ Aged 96 years.

Aged 81 years.

“ Be it remembered that this family was the first to break

“ ground in this town. They left six children, sixty-four

“ grandchildren, 189 great-grandchildren, and sixteen of the

“ fourth generation.”

When the Revolutionary war broke out the Pennock family remained loyal to the British Crown. Seven brothers joined Burgoyne's army, and were killed. After the close of the war in 1784, Samuel (our great-grandfather) and Oliver Pennock, with their families came to Canada. They settled in Augusta, County of Grenville. Samuel Pennock was Lieutenant in Col. Peters' Militia. The children of Samuel were Isaac (who remained in the U. S.), Philemon and Alva. Philemon (our grandfather) married Hamutel Morey, a sister of Samuel Morey, the Moreys having arrived in Upper Canada about the same time that the Pennocks did, and coming from the same part of Vermont. Both Philemon and Alva drew lands as U. E. Loyalists. Philemon was one of the original trustees of the Methodist church built in Augusta in 1816, and is named in the deed from Polly Drake ; prior to that date the settlers worshipped in private dwellings or in barns. One of the writers of this sketch (Sarah S. Leggo), was baptized in that church over sixty years ago by the Rev. Anson Greene, D.D., who was a most intimate friend of our father. Philemon Pennock's children were,— Chapman, Elizabeth, William, Mary, Samuel, Philemon, Jr., John, and George, the latter being the child of a second wife, who was the widow of Samuel Morey, and sister of George Gardiner, of the Township of Yonge. The Moreys and Gardiners were U. E. Loyalists.

Philemon Pennock, Jr. (our father), married Mary, daughter of Thomas McIlmoyl, of Edwardsburg, September 22nd, 1822. They resided for many years in Augusta. He was a man of more than ordinary ability. Thirty-two years he was Township Clerk in Augusta. He was a Justice of the Peace and Associate Judge, and for a period of eighteen years he was Recording Steward of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, Augusta circuit. Chapman and William, his brothers, being older than he, served in the war of 1812, but he, being a boy of twelve at that time, was employed in carrying Government stores; he served, however, in 1837, and was a commissioned officer in the militia; he was appointed Lieutenant October, 1840; he was made Captain 1844, by His Excellency Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, and was appointed by His Excellency Lord Elgin, in July, 1847, Captain in the 2nd Battalion of the Grenville Militia, taking rank and precedence, etc., from the 13th day of January, 1847, and he subsequently retired, holding the rank of Major. In politics he was a staunch Liberal.

About the year 1854 (he having received a Government appointment) the family removed to Prescott, and in about the year 1856 they came to Ottawa, where he had accepted a position in the Civil Service, Post Office Department, which position he held up to the time of his death, which occurred August 18th, 1874, aged 75.

His family consisted of William, James, Eleanor, John, Sarah, Elizabeth and another Philemon. Eleanor, John and Philemon Jr. are deceased. James and William are living in Ottawa, as is also Sarah, the wife of Dr. John Leggo, and Elizabeth, the wife of W. H. Walker, K.C., the joint contributors of this sketch, in conclusion of which we might mention that our sister Eleanor married Prof. Albert Hurd, of Knox College, Galesburg, Ill., a great-grandson of Barbara Heck, the founder of Methodism in America.

THE MCILMOYL FAMILY.

On the 17th of June, 1774, John McIlmoyl emigrated from Portglenone, in the Parish of Ahoghill and County of Antrim, Ireland, to America, settling at Ballston Springs, N. Y. They were thirteen weeks in crossing.

He brought with him his family consisting of the following members, viz: his wife Mary (Dysart), six children—Mary,

Samuel, John, Hugh, Thomas and Jane, an infant, and a servant, Neil McNeil.

In the possession of the family at the present time, yellowed with age, is a receipt for the passage money, and below is a copy of the same.

"Rec'd, this 17th June, 1774, from John McIlmoyl,
 "Seventy Pounds pay in full for the Passage of Eight
 "People to Newcastle, by the Brig Mary Ann, John Breen,
 "Master."

Three of John McIlmoyl's sons were in the Loyalist Army in the Revolutionary war, but he was too old to serve. On account, however, of his remaining loyal to Great Britain, his lands were confiscated, and he was put into prison. Saratoga is built upon the land then owned by John McIlmoyl. He never received any compensation for the loss of his property.

The building in which he was imprisoned was a mill, and he was confined in a room on the upper floor. His wife was allowed to visit him and carry him food. One day she carried to him a loaf of bread in which she had concealed a rope, with the aid of which he was able to make his escape, and he with his family fled, crossing Lake Champlain, in the depth of winter, on the ice. Unable to procure horses they crossed the lake with oxen, which had been shod, to enable them to travel on the ice. They landed at St. John, P.Q., from there they pursued their journey until they reached Edwardsburg, where they settled on the banks of the St. Lawrence, at the Gallops Rapids, below Prescott. This was in 1778. There they built a log house in which they lived for a time, but a frame house was subsequently built in 1796, and that house still stands, and is the oldest house in the township. It is about one hundred and four years old.

A year ago last summer, a great-granddaughter of John McIlmoyl visited the old place, where she was born, and plucked apples from the big red tree in the old orchard. This tree was planted about 1785, and has borne apples every year since.

John McIlmoyl died at Edwardsburg, at a ripe old age, having braved many hardships and privations that he might live under the flag he loved so well.

One of his sons owned a farm, just below the old fort at Prescott, and the old gentleman, when over 90 years of age, walked from there (where he had been visiting) to Edwardsburg, a distance of at least four miles, and becoming overheated, he took a

cold which resulted in his death. He and his wife are buried in the old burying ground at The Commons, where four generations of McIlmoyses lie, viz: John McIlmoyl, Thos. McIlmoyl, his son; John McIlmoyl (2nd), and some of his children, also some of James Dysart McIlmoyl's children.

Of Mary (Dysart), John McIlmoyl's wife, we know very little, but the incident of the rope and the loaf of bread shows her character to have been both resourceful and courageous. She was English by birth, and had a brother a physician, John Dysart, M.D.

John McIlmoyl was our great-grandfather.

His fourth son, Thomas McIlmoyl (our grandfather) lived and died at the old homestead in Edwardsburg. He was eighteen years of age when the family came to Canada. On 27th of September, 1793, he married Sarah Falkner, a daughter of William Falkner, of Lancaster, also of U. E. Loyalist descent. She died September 21st, 1804. A sister of Sarah Falkner's married Col. French of Coteau-du-lac. She had one brother, Joseph, and one sister. As we have before stated, the brothers of Thomas McIlmoyl served in the Loyalist army in the Revolutionary war, but he was too young at that time to serve. On him, however, devolved the support of his mother and the care of the home. After they came to Canada he was employed by the Government in the secret service, and his son, James Dysart, served in the war of 1812, and also in 1837. Thomas McIlmoyl was one of the hardy pioneers of the eighteenth and nineteen centuries, a man of sterling qualities. His home was ever one of open hospitality. His house was a preaching-place for the early Methodist and Church of England ministers, Bishop Strachan, the Rev. Nathan Bangs, D.D., and others having held religious service in his home. His little daughter Mary (our mother) took pleasure in after years in telling her children about being allowed to hold a candle during some of these religious services, that those servants of the Master might the better see to read the lessons and hymns. Thomas McIlmoyl continued a member of the Church of England through life, but he was also in sympathy with the early Methodists. He died at the old homestead, Edwardsburg, March 1st, 1850, aged 89 years.

All of the pioneer settlers were obliged to go to Kingston to mill, a distance of 80 miles. The Government gave to each township a bateau, and twice a year they went to mill, all the families uniting in the trip.

James Dysart McIlmoyl, the eldest son of Thomas McIlmoyl, lived for many years at the homestead in Edwardsburg. He married a Miss Clarissa McFarland, from near Utica, N.Y. He was a dragoon in the war of 1812, and did patrol duty between Prescott and Matilda (Iroquois). He had many exciting experiences, and a good horse to whose speed he frequently owed his safety. He had two sisters, Eleanor and Mary, and a half brother, John. His sister, Eleanor, was a woman of remarkable intelligence, refinement and culture, a great reader and conversant with all the leading topics of the day. She knew the Scripture by heart. She was six years old when her mother died, James Dysart ten, and Mary (our mother) four. Eleanor died at Ottawa, May 27th, 1860, aged 62 years. James Dysart lived to a ripe old age, spending his declining years with one of his daughters, Mrs. (Rev.) Asa Falkner, at Colebrook, Ohio. He drew a pension, but only a very few years previous to his death. His only son James McIlmoyl lives in Victoria, B.C.

Mary McIlmoyl, our mother, was married to Philemon Pennock, by the Rev. Robert Blakey, at Edwardsburg, on the 22nd of September, 1822. She died at Ottawa, October 28th, 1889, aged 89 years. She was a woman of strong personality. A wise mother and true helpmeet to her husband.

There were few facilities in those days for acquiring an education. Eleanor and Mary McIlmoyl, after being well grounded by their father at home, spent two years with the family of their uncle, Col. French, at Coteau-du-lac. While with their Aunt French they enjoyed equal privileges with their cousins, who had an excellent governess, and so they received what was, at that time, considered a fair education.

There are incidents connected with the life of these early settlers that are of interest, but are left out, fearing too much space has already been occupied.

These accounts have been carefully prepared by the writers, with a view to accuracy, and are respectfully submitted to the Association.

The late Parker Allen, Esq., of Adolphustown.

BY REV. C. E. THOMSON.

Two months ago at the City of Kingston there passed away from amongst us one of the first, and one among the last, of those early inhabitants of Upper Canada, who are so fast disappearing from our view. Parker Allen's grandfather, Captain Joseph Allen, and his father, Jonathan Allen, were of the heroic band who came ashore at Adolphustown in June, 1784, driven from their early homes in the revolted colonies. Captain Allen's property, which was considerable, situated in New Jersey, was confiscated; and with his two sons and three daughters, and some slaves who followed his fallen fortunes, he came by way of Sorel, and so by bateaux up the river and lake as a member of Major Van Alstine's Company, landing at Fourth Town, June 16th. In the early records of the township we do not hear much of Captain Joseph Allen. We learn that to him was assigned Lot No. 20, the next lot but one east of the town plot of Adolphustown. East of him was Jacob Hover on Lot 19, and and next to him was my grandfather William Ruttan, on Lot 18. It is possible that the elders of the party, having conducted their sons and daughters to this land of liberty for the present, and of promise for the future, were contented to retire pretty much into the background, and to leave the conduct of affairs to their juniors. Joseph Allen seems to have had not only his 200 acre lot on the bay shore, but also 172 acres in the second concession, almost directly behind his front lot.

He does not seem to have been an office-holder. His son John, at an early date, removed to Marysburgh, Jonathan remaining in Adolphustown. Jonathan filled various offices in the township from the year 1814 onwards. His son, the subject of this notice, was born about the beginning of January, 1812, and was just ninety years and ten days old at his death on the 11th of last January.

To us at the present day it may seem a grand thing to be the owner of three or four hundred acres of land, with more or fewer stalwart sons and helpful daughters.

But many tales have come down to us, which go to show that those first years were years of great toil and anxiety, and actual want for the necessities of life. The years 1787, 1788, and the first half of 1789, traditionally spoken of as the "hungry" year, must have severely tried the loyalty, fortitude, and endurance of these brave and devoted people. There were times when wheat was almost unknown amongst them, and when their scanty supplies of Indian corn, or millet seed, or wild rice had to be ground, or rather pounded, by hand. The very few who had a cow giving milk were indeed fortunate, for it was life to their young children. Happy also were those who could kill game or catch fish. But, strain their resources as they might, those first few years were years of self-sacrifice and self-denial to our U. E. Loyalist forefathers, such as we, their grandchildren and great grandchildren, can form no conception of, but of which we are permitted to enjoy the fruits.

Through the kindness of T. W. Casey, Esq., of Napanee, himself of U. E. Loyalist descent and a member of a very prominent Adolphustown family, I have been permitted to make use of information which he has obtained respecting the Allen family. I therefore gladly give you some things which, of course, I could not relate from my own knowledge.

It would appear that Joseph Allen was, at the beginning of the rebellion, a prosperous mill-owner at Monmouth, New Jersey, and that because he had supplied provisions to the British forces, his mills and store were looted by the rebels. Thereupon he raised a Company, of which he became Captain, which fought for the British Crown during the war. At its close, his property was confiscated, and, his life being in danger, and only preserved by the fidelity of his slaves, he at length became a refugee, and, as I have said, with the rest of Major Van Alstine's Company, after a journey of great hardship and tediousness, landed at Adolphustown.

His family consisted of two sons, John and Jonathan, twelve and fourteen years old, and three daughters, Rachel, Ursula, and Elizabeth. He brought with him several negro slaves, who were warmly attached to him, and continued so even after the Act of Parliament of 1793. That Act did not profess to set free those who were already held as slaves in Upper Canada, but forbade the importation of slaves for the future, and made provision for the gradual extinction of negro slavery.

After John Allen had removed to Fifth Town or Marysburgh, in the Prince Edward District, where he died in 1815, Jonathan Allen remained on the homestead. He married Miss Nancy Dougall of Hallowell, and his family consisted of six children, Joseph, Parker, Alexander, John, Gertrude, and Anne. This last was a very intimate friend of my mother, Elizabeth, daughter of William Ruttan, and married Allen Van Alstine. Gertrude became the wife of J. J. Watson, Esq., a very prominent resident of Adolphustown, and a Justice of the Peace and holder of many municipal offices. Jonathan Allen died in 1846, at the age of 74 years. I think it was Jonathan Allen whom, when I was a small boy, I was taken to see ill in bed about the year 1844 or 1845. I remember distinctly his last words to my sister and myself, "Good-bye, my daughter; good-bye, my son."

The late Parker Allen appears to have succeeded to his father's property and position in the township, being thirty-four years of age. Eight years before, in 1838, he had been township clerk, an office which was held afterwards several times by his brother-in-law, Mr. Watson. Twice he represented the township in the district or County Council. In politics he was a Conservative, or, as was the party name in early days, a Tory. Mr. Allen's father, Jonathan Allen, was a member of the Church of England, and was several times Churchwarden. He himself was baptized into the Church of England when quite young; but after middle age, becoming acquainted with Lord Cecil, and being attached to him, he joined the Plymouth Brethren. At his house Lord Cecil staid when at Adolphustown, and it was nearly in front of his house that this nobleman was accidentally drowned in the year 1889.

Mr. Allen was about six years old when the first Bay of Quinte steamboat, the Queen Charlotte, was built at Bath, and made regular trips twice each week from the head of the bay to Prescott.

There is, perhaps, no more enchanting piece of scenery in the world than the Bay of Quinte from Amherst Island all the way up to Belleville, seen at any time in the summer months, and at any hour of the day, as you pass along in the steamboat.

It is not so wide but that you can take in the beauties of both sides. You see the homesteads dotted along the banks, some of them old-fashioned, unworldly-looking relics of a time that is past; and in front of them the green sward plentifully sprinkled

with dandelions, and in spring time the orchards full of blossom fragrant with the most delicate perfume, and drowsily resonant with the hum of bees. Every now and then you pass some white sailed sloop appearing to crawl along either shore; or a bend in the bay brings into view a little hamlet with its half dozen houses, and its quiet dreamy wharf waiting patiently for some one to step upon it. The waters sparkle brightly in the summer sun with what the poet calls a "many-twinkling smile," and as you move along you are tempted to wish that so lovely a paradise of peace may never be disturbed by the screech of the locomotive and the rattle of the railway, or by anything more incongruous than the almost musical pulsation of the steamboat's paddles.

In July, 1811, the Reverend Henry Boehm, in attendance on the Methodist Bishop Asbury, made in a journey on horseback—it was the best way of land travelling then—through the country from Cornwall to Adolphustown. He quotes Asbury as saying, "Our ride has brought us through one of the finest countries I have ever seen. The timber is of a noble size, the cattle are well shaped, and well-looking, the crops are abundant on a most fruitful soil. Surely this is a land that God the Lord hath blessed."

This is the description given by Dr. Canniff of the view from the lake on the mountain at the Stone Mills, now called Glenora.

"At our feet is the bay, and seemingly so near that one could toss a stone into the clear blue water; and across, at the distance of a mile, though apparently much nearer, lies the low rich land of Adolphustown. To the right stretches in almost a straight line, the waters of the bay, along which may be seen the well-settled shores even to Ernesttown, and over which we get a view of the upper gap, where the waters of the bay commingle with the more boisterous flood of Ontario. Upon this bright autumn day the view is almost enchanting. The surface of the waters of the several indentations, especially Hay Bay, as well as the main channel, have imparted to them the bright blue of the sky, while the fields of rich green and gold give variety to the scene. This rich landscape spread out before us is really the classic ground of Upper Canada. Within the compass of our view was for several years the western limit of the settlement. We can see where landed the refugee Loyalists to take possession of the land. Along that green and golden sloping shore have passed the batteaux laden with the settlers and their limited

household effects; there also has gone the Schenectady boat with its ungainly sail and toiling rowers. There upon the rich land of Fredericksburgh and Adolphustown lived and died many of the fathers of Canada. In the old homesteads which there gradually arose were born, and spent their boyhood days, a host of sons, who, moving farther west upon the bay and lake, planted the townships. From that spot sprang many of Canada's earliest public men, who passed their younger days among these natural beauties which belong to the bay. Under our eye is the birth-place of Judge Hagerman, Sheriff Ruttan, and others, who have left a name upon the pages of Canadian history. There upon the front of Adolphustown, stands the old Court House, where was held the first court of law of Upper Canada; there flourished the earliest lawyer of the Province, Judge Hagerman's father, and there pleaded McLean of Kingston in his robes and powdered wig. And there yet stands the house where lived the little boy, who, now a man, is the leading spirit in our enlarged Canada. Upon this hill, and up and down its slopes, often played this, the foremost man in British America, Sir John A. Macdonald. Those four townships, Kingston, Ernesttown, Fredericksburgh, and Adolphustown, were the early homes of those who faithfully served their country. How many thoughts are suggested, as the student of history looks abroad on this the first inhabited land of western Canada! Many of the present inhabitants here have never heard of the noble ones who have struggled, and whose bones now decay in yon U.E. burying ground across the water."

Among such scenes, and surrounded by such hallowed associations Mr. Allen was born and brought up. In his youth two most important historical events were of recent occurrence and vivid in the memory of all Upper Canadians, the expatriation of their fathers and mothers by the rebels, coupled with the loss of ancestral homes and possessions sacrificed in the cause of loyalty; and the more recent attempts on the part of the successful rebels, by repeated invasions during three years, to obtain possession of this our sacred and beloved soil, which the labours of our pioneers had transformed from a wilderness to a land flowing with milk and honey. No wonder is it if we, their descendants, even at this distance of time, feel, as Mr. Allen and his contemporaries felt, anything but kindly towards those who have tried, and would try again to-morrow if the opportunity were offered, by fraud or by force, combined sometimes with flattery, oftener with

insult, to rob us of our dearly won heritage, which we possess through the virtues and valour of our forefathers, and under the protection of the British Crown. The comparatively trifling incident of the Montgomery monument is only one instance out of many in which the attempt has been made to humiliate and overreach us, and through us the Empire, of which we are proud to form a not insignificant part.

The late Mr. Allen was not one of those unconscious ones ignorant of the forefathers of the hamlet, who in their day sacrificed so much and toiled so nobly to hand down to us the blessings we enjoy. It was the writer's privilege, in company with other members of the Association, in 1898, to make a pilgrimage to Adolphustown, and to meet Mr. Allen, who presided over the gathering which welcomed us in the old church.

Fourteen years before, in 1884, the writer had been permitted to preach in that old church at the great Centennial celebration, and to enjoy Mr. Coatson's hospitality. Mr. Allen was a leading man on that grand occasion. And here still in 1898, was Mr. Parker Allen, alert and smiling and active, eighty-six years of age, giving us a hearty and loving welcome in these words among many others:—

"Dear Friends and Visitors, it gives us all great pleasure to have you among us to-day, affording us occasion to recall the interesting and animating memories of our past history. We hope that you on your part will experience all the pleasure you have anticipated from your visit to this locality. We wish prosperity to the Society to which you belong, and pray that it may be instrumental in disseminating abroad those principles of self-sacrificing loyalty to king and conscience which our heroic forefathers exemplified at so great a cost."

Respecting Mr. Allen's later days the Kingston *Whig* says that on leaving Adolphustown he spent the winter of 1900-1901 at Ottawa with a married daughter, and in the spring of 1901 came to Kingston, where he resided with another married daughter until his death in January of this year. He was seldom sick for even a day during his long life. On the 8th of January he was taken sick and became unconscious towards evening, and passed away quietly on the morning of the 10th, being ten days more than ninety years of age. His remains were temporarily deposited in the vault of Cataragui Cemetery not far from his life-long friend John A. Macdonald. It is intended to inter his body at Adolphus-

town in the coming spring in the old St. Paul's burying ground where his father was buried.

In 1845 Mr. Allen married Miss Nash, of Picton, who survives him; he leaves two sons in Adolphustown, one son in Oregon, and two daughters married, one in Ottawa, and one in Kingston.

The *Napanee Beaver* in January, 1897, tells us that in the early part of the last century among Mr. Allen's schoolmates in the old school-house just east of the beautiful Memorial Church were "Litt Jack" Macdonald, and his sisters Margaret and Jane. Col. Samuel Dorland, Major Peter Dorland, the Caseys, the Trumpours, the Ruttans, the Harrises and others—all gone *then* except Mr. Garner and Mr. Allen—probably all passed away now. But their memory, let us hope, has not been lost. These good old people laboured—their descendants and successors have entered into their labours. And it would be an evil day for Canada, if its inhabitants, whether native-born or immigrants, should ever forget the enormous debt of gratitude and reverence which is due to those grand old United Empire Loyalists.

These be thy heroes, Canada ;
 These men of proof, whose test
 Was in the fevered pulse of strife
 When foeman thrusts at foeman's life ;
 And in that stern behest
 When right must toil for daily bread,
 While wrong on sumptuous fare is fed,
 And men must choose between ;
 When right must shelter 'neath the skies,
 While wrong in lordly mansion lies,
 And men must choose between ;
 When right is cursed and crucified,
 While wrong is cheered and glorified,
 And men must choose between.
 Stern was the test,
 And sorely pressed,
 That proved their blood best of the best,
 And when for Canada you pray,
 Implore kind Heaven
 That, like a leaven,
 The hero-blood, which then was given,
 May quicken in her veins alway,
 That from those worthy sires may spring,
 In number as the stars,
 Strong-hearted sons, whose glorying
 Shall be in right,
 Though recreant might
 Be strong against her in the fight,
 And many be her scars ;
 So, like the sun, her honoured name
 Shall shine to latest years the same.

LE ROY HOOKER.

Reminiscences of the Late Capt. John DeCew.

My forefathers were Huguenots, and fled from France to England in 1572, on account of their religion, and at an early day, 1680, came to America and settled in Vermont, where I was born in 1766.

At the close of the American Revolution, 1784, my father and family removed to Upper Canada, crossing the river at Queenston. I commenced exploring, and led by my early predilections, selected a property in the townships of Thorold and Grantham, covering what is now called DeCew's Falls, on the Beaver Dam creeks. I purchased one man's right to one hundred acres for an axe and an Indian blanket, and another for a gold doubloon. I endured many hardships, but worked away happily. One of my first wants was a grindstone, which I supplied by discovering a quarry not far below the falls, from which I selected a stone of good size and quality, and having partially shaped it with a pick, I started for home with it. On becoming tired I would lay it down and resume picking, resting, lightening my load and bringing the stone nearer the required shape at the same time. While thus engaged at one time, I thought I heard a rustling in the leaves behind me, and on turning my head I saw an enormous black snake reared up and looking over my shoulder. As quick as thought I discharged my pick at his head, and laid him dead at my feet. I imagine he took me for a stump, and thought there was a woodpecker on the other side, of which he might make a dinner.

I at length resolved to build a saw mill and oil mill, there being none at the time between the two lakes. I was aided in my enterprise by Colonel Hamilton, of Queenston, who imported the necessary ironware for me from Scotland. A kind Providence crowned my undertaking with success, and by the year 1812 I had built a substantial stone dwelling, which, on the war coming on, and our men being obliged to retreat from Niagara, was used as a storehouse for military purposes. By that time the county had become pretty well settled, and I was appointed Captain of a company of militia, and, being thoroughly British, I turned out

with my men, although conscious that we had to fight against great odds, yet determined to make up in courage and determination what we lacked in numbers.

After engaging in several skirmishes, I was among the few made prisoners at the taking of Niagara, and was at once hurried across the river, and to Batavia, where we were joined by some of our regulars. We now numbered in all about fifty prisoners, with but a small guard placed over us. We discovered in the place an arsenal containing arms and ammunition, and resolved to capture it, arm ourselves, and make our way back home.

Our plans were matured and the time appointed, when, at a given signal to be given at night, when we would have less to fear from the inhabitants, our designs were to be put into execution, but before the hour arrived our wild scheme was frustrated by one of our regulars, who divulged our secret to the enemy. Our indignation against the traitor was so marked that our guard had to rescue him, but his red coat could not be found by the guard, and on enquiry being made after it, one of his red comrades exclaimed, "He deserted his colours and his coat deserted him." An opportunity was shortly after presented when said coat was placed on a post and whipped to shreds.

From this time forward we were carried from place to place, nothing of particular interest occurring more than that we were a sort of free show that attracted general attention. At one place an old lady came hurrying out, exclaiming, "Where are they? Where are they?" when one of our men pointed to a couple of our comrades across the street. She, with a wondering look, said: "Why, law me, they are just like men; they look like our folks." At another place we halted for a few days at the foot of a mountain, and were allowed to go on parole. I took a chisel, and finding a rock with a smooth surface, I cut my name on it—"Capt. John DeCew, II. Lincoln Militia." This excited a good deal of query; they could not conceive what "Lincoln" meant. Finally it was decided to mean *Linkeu*, which implied that we were all linked together as one man, and would consequently prove formidable antagonists. I did not contradict this proposition.

We at length arrived at Pittsfield, where twelve officers, I being one, were selected as hostages to be sent to Washington and executed, in retaliation for the execution of some of their men, who proved to be deserters from our army, and were captured bearing

arms against us. After travelling eight days towards the place of execution, the orders were countermanded, Sir George Provost having informed them that he had caused twenty-four of their men to be placed in close confinement, and would put two for every one to death if they persisted. During the final adjustment of this, to us a vital question, we were ordered to be kept at Philadelphia, and were placed in what was not appropriately called the Invincible Prison, a large three-story building, the third flat of which contained a spacious hall, to which we all had access during the day, but confined in several apartments during the night. We were humanely treated, and for a time had liberty to traverse a certain portion of the city on parole. This privilege was utilized by a young ensign by the name of Myers in making the acquaintance of a young lady, which he afterwards turned to good account.

During our parole we were frequently invited to the tables of the more wealthy inhabitants, when the subject of the war and its injustice was frequently the topic of conversation, and at one of the dinners our host became so excited in his condemnation that, bringing his knife down with emphasis, he cut a large hole in his table cloth. On returning to our restricted position our longings and yearnings for home, together with the uncertainty of our future and ultimate position, caused us to again plan an escape. There was a fire-place at the end of our hall nearest the street, the chimney of which was sufficiently large to admit of our escape through it, but it was so grated with iron bars as to require the removal of two in order to permit of our egress. We knew the hours when we were generally left alone, and commenced operations on the grates, by using the mainsprings of our watches for saws, placing them in frames for that purpose, but the weary work was not completed before our tools were worn out, and then the young lady before mentioned furnished Myers with a clean pocket-handkerchief, in which was concealed a phial of aquafortis, which soon completed the work. To provide against detection, as the chimney was inspected every day, we found it necessary to replace the grate we had removed when we were not engaged at the work. This we did by securing it in place by wrapping it with paper which we had first rubbed on the sooty chimney in order to give it a proper color. We next made a rope of bedding, tying the strips together, and chose the hour between eight and nine in the

evening, we being then usually alone and the streets not much frequented. I was the last to escape and, unfortunately for me, the rope had broken in the descent of the man preceding me, so I found myself at the end, not knowing how far I was from the ground, but let myself fall and found myself supported by two of my comrades, the blood running from my mouth. With difficulty I prevailed upon my friends to leave me and make their own escape, as it was impossible for me to travel. After remaining alone for some time rain commenced pouring down, and I recovered so as to be able to walk, which I did in a direction leading from the prison, but by a strange misfortune I, in the darkness, fell into an unoccupied cellar, in which stood nearly a foot of water, losing my hat in my fall. I waded around a long time before I found my hat, and still longer before I found my way out, and in the meantime I heard the patrol of Dragoons pass by on the street. I continued my journey, notwithstanding my accumulated bruises, slowly and silently, and at length saw a light from a window, toward which I proceeded, directed, as I believe, by a kind Providence. On reaching the house from which the light proceeded, and gaining admittance, I found a gentleman and lady occupied with books, and I addressed myself to them saying, "You see before you an unfortunate prisoner of war, who has just escaped from the Invincible, in which I have been confined as a hostage, with the possibility of execution. I have a wife with five children on the frontier of Canada, exposed to all the ills of a bloody war. I am maimed and bruised in effecting my escape, and am wholly dependent upon what your mercy may induce you to do." The young man seemed lost in astonishment, and the lady sat in silence, but I saw tears in her eyes, and a glow of generosity beaming in her countenance as she exclaimed, "I would risk everything rather than see him given up." They proposed to put me upstairs, but I advised them to allow me to go to some outhouse, so that, if discovered, I could say that I had secreted myself there without their knowledge. This they did, and I crawled into a hayloft over the stable. My present anxiety being now somewhat relieved, I was given to feel the full force of my wounds. The young lady visited me in the morning with refreshments, and wept over me in my sad condition. I came near being discovered one day by some children, but I covered myself up effectually with hay, as I heard them coming. They

soon found some pretty buttons which I had bought in the city (for I never forgot my boys), and ran to the house with them. This aroused the watchfulness of the owner of the premises, and father of the young lady, and he afterwards himself stood watch over the buildings when the children were about. He was a Quaker, and was engaged in publishing a Bible. I was presented by him on the day following my concealment with a printed bill offering one hundred dollars reward for the capture of each of the escaped prisoners, and also announcing that if any one was known to harbor them or in any way assist in their escape, their property would be confiscated, and they tried for high treason. In view of the immense risk, I requested him to give me up and receive the reward, but to this he would by no means consent, preferring, as he said, a good conscience before his estates, although they were considerable. The escaped prisoners were all retaken the first forenoon, with the exception of myself and two others who had friends in the city. I remained in my concealment several days, during which I received every possible kind attention and was then furnished with a change of clothing to prevent detection, and money for my journey.

I set out as a drover returning from market, and fell in with two of that craft, from whom I obtained a quantity of information respecting the business, as well as the roads and country through which I was to pass. I had great pain in one of my feet, which was injured by the fall, but I accounted for it by saying it was affected by rheumatism. Knowing that I would not be able to cross the Niagara river, I took my way to Lower Canada through Vermont, my native place, where I found some of my relatives living near Bennington, to whom I made myself known and received assistance from them. I continued my journey via Rutland to Burlington, where I took the steamer to Plattsburg. At Burlington I was startled by a young man eyeing me narrowly, and who afterwards, on lighting me to bed, exclaimed, "Here you will be safe." He called me in the morning and conducted me to the boat, when he enquired if there were any officers on board. He probably mistook me for a deserting soldier. From Plattsburg I made my way toward the Canadian lines, on nearing which I cut a stout cane or cudgel and resolved not to be captured by less than five men. I found myself sadly perplexed to know how to avoid the American out-

posts and how to fall in with the Canadian outposts for I durst not enquire. I, however, entered a cottage and found an old lady making johnnycake, of which I got a fair share, and after praising it for all it was worth, which was not a little, she became very talkative and told me all I wanted to know, and in a few hours thereafter I found myself in a British camp, surrounded by red coats and under my beloved flag, the Union Jack. I was shortly afterwards sent for by the general, who supposed that I might have broken my parole, but on hearing my story gave me credit for tact and endurance, paid me my arrears and gave me a free pass home.

On my arrival home I heard that they had had some hot times. The enemy learning that there were military supplies stored in my house, sent an army with cannon to capture the stores and knock the house down. They got as far as the back woods, two miles east, where they were intercepted by a band of Indians lying in ambush, who opened fire upon them from behind the trees, yelling in the most approved Indian style, and killed several of them. They, however, returned the fire, and even brought their cannon to bear upon the unseen foe, but without effect. They, however, sent one of their grapeshot into a pine tree, which afterwards almost ruined one of my saws.

In the meantime Lieut. Fitzgibbon, having disposed of most of the stores, and hearing the firing, set out on horseback for the scene of action, carrying a white flag. On his arrival he told their commander that their enterprise was hopeless, that he had a sufficient number of men to capture them. He gave an exaggerated account of the number of Indians and gave them the choice of surrendering to the whites or the Indians. They chose the former and were marched by my house with one red coat to ten blue ones.

I was present at the Battle of Lundy's Lane, but having charge of the Commissariat I was not in the fight. I shall never forget the cheering when our reinforcements arrived, and how some of the prisoners taken by us said it went down them like rain. We followed the enemy to Chippewa and found some stores abandoned by them. These, Lieut. Fitzgibbon declared legal plunder, and asked if I could not take part of it home, but I declined, being resolved that no one should ever say that I had gone out plundering.

The war is now over and we see little to remind us of it, but

now and then an old bayonet or gun barrel, or an occasional ball or bombshell are ploughed up, relics of the arms destroyed to save them from the enemy.

The preceding narrative of facts and incidents in the life of Capt. John DeCew, Sr., as related by himself to his children, was compiled by my brother Robert, now deceased, and partly from my own memory.

Shortly after the return of peace my father built a grist mill, but unfortunately the Welland Canal, of which he was one of the original promoters, was so constructed as to turn the streams into it, and thus left his mills without water. The sight of his ruined mills was intolerable, and having procured a tract of land in the Township of Cayuga, County of Haldimand, at which was a mill site now known as DeCewsville, he, in his declining years, removed to it, where, after having exhibited his usual tact in promoting every useful movement about his new home, he ended his days in peace, March, 1855, at the advanced age of eighty-nine years.

DeCewsville, Aug. 1st, 1888.

EDMUND DECEW.

The Highland Scotch U. E. Loyalists.

BY ALEXANDER CLARK CASSELMAN, TORONTO.

Before 1775 many natives of the Highlands of Scotland emigrated to America and settled within the borders of what is now the United States. Sometimes this emigration was of an individual character, but the emigration whose influence is yet distinctly felt in the Dominion of Canada and the United States was different in cause and character. Whole families, many times whole communities, were compelled to leave the glens they loved so well and seek new homes in America.

The Highlanders, like all peoples that live in rocky picturesque countries, love their home, their family and their freedom. From earliest times the Highlanders sought foreign service in various capacities. Accustomed as they were to scanty fare at home, their industry, perseverance, frugality and honesty soon enabled them in more highly favored countries to acquire a competency. With this the wanderer returned to his native hills and heath to live in homely affluence the rest of his days.

When families or communities migrated it was from necessity, not from choice. When they bade adieu to their past surroundings it was with a heavy heart, because they never hoped to return. The preparation for the journey has been graphically described by more than one writer. They approached the kirk and the adjoining yard with tears in their eyes. They kissed the walls of the sacred edifice, they prostrated themselves on the mounds of earth that marked the resting-place of their departed ones, and after a short prayer they moved slowly away from the hallowed scenes with heavy steps and aching hearts.

A Highland poet thus describes them :

Farewell to the land of the mountain and wood,
Farewell to the home of the brave and the good,
My bark is afloat on the blue-rolling main,
And I ne'er shall behold thee, dear Scotland, again !

Adieu to the scenes of my life's early morn,
From the place of my birth I am cruelly torn ;
The tyrant oppresses the land of the free ;
And leaves but the name of my sires unto me.

Oh ! home of my fathers, I bid thee adieu,
 For soon will thy hill-tops retreat from my view,
 With sad drooping heart I depart from thy shore
 To behold thy fair valleys and mountains no more.

'Twas there that I wooed thee, young Flora, my wife,
 When my bosom was warm in the morning of life,
 I courted thy love 'mong the heather so brown,
 And heaven did I bless when it made thee my own.

The friends of my early years, where are they now ?
 Each kind honest heart, and each brave manly brow ;
 Some sleep in the churchyard, from tyranny free,
 And others are crossing the ocean with me.

Lo ! now on the boundless Atlantic I stray,
 To a strange foreign realm I am wafted away ;
 Before me as far as my vision can glance,
 I see but the wave-rolling wat'ry expanse.

So farewell, my country and all that is dear,
 The hour is arrived and the bark is a-steer,
 I go and forever, oh ! Scotland adieu !
 The land of my fathers no more I shall view.

—PETER CRERAR.

The causes that led to emigration were the oppression of Lauderdale in the reign of Charles II. in trying to suppress conventicles ; the adherence of many of the clans to the ill-fated Stuart cause in 1689, in 1715 and again in 1745 ; the change of land tenure after the "45," and the introduction of sheep-farming. The particulars of each of these causes may be found in any history of Scotland.

One of the first Highland settlements in America was in South Carolina. Lord Cardross, afterwards Earl of Buchan, brought out a colony of Presbyterians, groaning under the tyranny of Lauderdale. They settled on Port Royal Island in 1683 and under some agreement claimed co-ordinate authority with the Governor and grand council of Charlestown. The local government disallowed the claim and Lord Cardross returned to Britain. The colony prospered and lived on very friendly terms with the Indians, but was eventually scattered by the Spaniards, and its members found refuge in the other settlements.

Georgia was very early a refuge for the Highlanders. It was at first a plantation for refugee debtors languishing in English prisons. It was founded by James Oglethorpe, a philanthropist and afterwards an able general. After some years of trial, the

trustees found that the poor of Britain was indeed a poor foundation upon which to build a colony. The settlements were in constant danger of extinction from raids of the Spaniards from Florida, and with every encouragement the colony did not prosper. It was proposed to induce men to emigrate who were hardy, inured to manual labor, with simple habits of life, men who could meet the exigencies of cultivation or of defence, and be successful in either. Such men were to be found only in the Highlands of Scotland. In February, 1736, 150 emigrants from Inverness-shire arrived in Georgia. They were settled on the Alatomoha river, which was considered the boundary between the British and Spanish dominions. They called their settlement New Inverness and the fort Darien. Here they lived in contented freedom and independence, cherishing the national characteristics of manner and dress. They were joined by others from their native country, and soon a minister, Rev. John MacLeod, was selected and sent out to attend to their spiritual wants. This minister preached in Gaelic, instructed the children in English and other branches of education, and in some measure tried to bring the Gospel to the Indians.

From its very inception the settlement was threatened by invasion by the Spaniards. The Highlanders were not at all dismayed by the prospect of meeting the Spaniards in war. In fact they rather enjoyed such a meeting. When their ship landed at Savannah, some people of South Carolina tried to dissuade them from going to the proposed place by saying the Spaniards were already there and would shoot them. The Highlanders replied: "In that case we will drive them out of their fort, and have houses ready built for us."

For ten years there was continuous warfare, the brunt of which was borne by the Highlanders, and to the success of these actions Oglethorpe owed his reputation. The wonderful fighting powers of the Highlander has brought fame to many a general since the days of Oglethorpe, and memories of his gallant soldiers in far-off Georgia may have had some effect in preventing his coming to an engagement with their kinsmen when they were out with Prince Charlie in '45.

Another early settlement, and perhaps the largest at the time of the Revolution, was in North Carolina, along Cape Fear River. It is not known when the first settlers came, but there were Highlanders there in 1729, probably the survivors of the broken

up South Carolina Colony. The first great acquisition to this nucleus was the arrival of a shipload in 1739 from Kintyre, in Scotland, under Neil McNeil. From time to time others, dissatisfied with their homes, joined them, but in 1746 and 1747 the great emigration took place, caused by the oppression after the outbreak in 1745. Emigration continued from every part of Scotland, but just before the Revolution there was the greatest influx of settlers.

The most notable accessions to the Highlanders in North Carolina was the emigration of the McDonalds of Raasay and Skye. The most prominent figure among them was Allan McDonald, of Kingsburgh, husband of the heroic Flora McDonald, the faithful attendant of Prince Charlie. Allan McDonald was a splendid type of the aristocratic Highlander. The picture that is handed down to us is a large stately man, with steady, noble countenance, with his jet black hair tied behind, and dressed in the height of Highland fashion. It is not wonderful that such a man would take precedence among his countrymen.

At the first signs of the disturbance, Allan McDonald went to Governor Martin and offered to raise a battalion of Highlanders. He was granted permission, provided those who had the management of affairs would sanction it. It was the same old story—inefficient Governors, who were afraid to take prompt measures without authority, and indifferent officers and generals at headquarters, who refused to listen to the warnings of those who knew most about the true state of affairs. This delay strengthened the hands of the rebels, and dissension was sown among the Highlanders. Old clan jealousies were revived, and the adherence of the young men born in the colony was lost to the British cause. At first neutral, they were compelled to take up arms against Britain.

Early in 1776, Donald McDonald, from New York, arrived at Cape Fear River, with authority to raise a regiment. The mistake was made in not sending a force to command respect, as several of the older residents desired to remain neutral, because overawed by a superior force of rebels. However, a battalion was raised wholly from the late emigrants, and about the middle of February took up the line of march to Wilmington to embark for New York. The rebels, under Moore, placed themselves in the way, and the result was that after a slight skirmish the Highlanders were surrounded by a greatly superior force and

compelled to surrender. The leaders were imprisoned in Halifax and the men released after being compelled to take an oath of neutrality.

Several small parties, however, managed to find their way northward, and enlisted in a corps called the Royal Highland Emigrants.

The most picturesque personage in the forming of this loyal regiment was Flora McDonald. She personally aided in getting the men to enlist and when the regiments were formed she addressed them and so enthusiastic was she that she followed her husband for several days until they came in touch with the rebel forces. At his earnest solicitation she consented to return to her home. Embracing her husband she breathed a prayer for the success of their cause and a quick return to their homes. She never saw her husband again in America. After the defeat of his force he and his eldest son were imprisoned, two of her younger children died of fever and on the advice of her husband she started for Scotland, with her daughter, Fanny, in 1779. Her five sons and son-in-law were actively engaged in the war. The vessel on which she took passage was attacked by a French privateer and during the engagement she persisted in remaining on deck. While here she slipped and broke her arm. She used to say that she served both the House of Stuart and the House of Brunswick and was worsted in the cause for each.

New Jersey at the time of the Revolution had a large Highland population. The early influx to this colony was due to two of its proprietaries, Robert Barclay* of Urie, and Lord Neil Campbell, brother of the Duke of Argyle. Its first settlers were the Covenanters, but it received its fair share of the emigration until the breaking out of the Revolution. The Loyalists from New Jersey were numerous, as there were formed four battalions of Loyalists from its population besides contributing many volunteers to other loyal regiments.

In New York there were two distinctive Highland settlements; one planted by Lauchlin Campbell between the years 1737 and 1750 on the watershed that separates the streams flowing into Lake George from those flowing into the Hudson. The colony was augmented very materially by the practice of giving a grant of land in America to every discharged soldier.

* Robert Barclay of Urie was an ancestor of the Honorary Legal Adviser of the U. E. L. Association, Mr. Edward Marion Chadwick.

The most notable Highland settlement in the province was that on the Mohawk.

Sir William Johnson for his services in the last war was rewarded with a grant of 100,000 acres of land north of the Mohawk. He had dreams of being a great feudal lord, and to people this vast estate he went to England to secure colonists. The broken fortunes under changed conditions of land tenure in Scotland of many of the Highland families led Sir William to seek for tenants in the Highlands. Consequently we find that his agents secured all the colonists he required from the Macdonells of Glengarry, Glen Morrison, Glen Urquhart and Strath Glass. These were all of the Roman Catholic faith, and the leaders were Alexander Macdonell (Aberchalder), John Macdonell (Scotas), Archibald Macdonell (Leek), and Allan Macdonell (Collachie); and four hundred other heads of families. They reached their destination in September, 1773. They began at once to fell the trees and build their log houses for protection during the winter. For two years they toiled on their farms and the prospect for a brilliant future was most promising. The Highlanders became deeply attached to Sir William Johnson and their confidence in his integrity and honesty was not misplaced. But from such brilliant dreams of the future they were to be suddenly awakened.

The next June Sir William died and his son, Sir John Johnson, succeeded to the title and estates.

The rebels under the leadership of Schuyler, wishing to exact an oath of neutrality from Sir John, invaded his estate and the Macdonell settlement. Opposition was out of the question, so the Highlanders were disarmed and their leaders taken as hostages for their good behavior. Schuyler knowing that the loyal sentiments of the Highlanders would not stand too much provocation, resolved to imprison Sir John and a few more of the Highland leaders. But they were warned just in time. They fled to Canada and Sir John got permission to form a regiment called the King's Royal Regiment of New York. Nearly all the officers and a large share of the men were Highlanders, who after the war settled in the counties of Stormont and Glengarry in Upper Canada. A full description of these people is to be found in the pages of "Sketches of Glengarry," by Mr. John Greenfield Macdonell, of Alexandria; and "Lunenburgh," by the late Judge Jacob Farrand Pringle.

A notable accession to the Highlanders in America were the

disbanded heroes of the three famous Highland regiments that had won undying fame under Wolfe, under Forbes and under Amherst, in the struggle between the British and French for the possession of the continent. These regiments were the 42nd or Royal Highland Regiment, so well known as the Black Watch, the strongest and best regiment under Abercrombie in the ill-managed expedition that ended so disastrously at Ticonderoga; the 77th or Montgomery's Highlanders, named from its commander, Archibald Montgomery, son of the Earl of Eglinton,—a regiment that, under Forbes, drove the French from the forks of the Ohio, and whose prowess enabled him to perpetuate the name of Britain's great war minister, Pitt, in the Ohio valley. The other regiment was the 78th or Fraser's Highlanders, formed and organized by Simon Fraser, son of Lord Lovat, who paid with his life the penalty of an unswerving attachment to the hopeless Stuart cause. This was the first regiment to climb the heights of Abraham on the grey dawn of that September morning that put an end to the hopes of building a French empire in America.

After taking part in the various campaigns, and being sent wherever hard work was to be done, these regiments were to be sent home. In 1767 the Black Watch were to embark from Philadelphia for Ireland, but all men who wished to stay in America were allowed to join other regiments until their time of service expired, when they were discharged and became settlers. In 1763 Montgomery's Highlanders were offered the choice of going home or staying in America. A large number remained and received grants of land. Fraser's Highlanders were similarly treated, and, as in the other regiments, many became settlers.

Every writer who has narrated the services of these regiments has spoken of them in the highest terms of praise. The officers and men were from the same people, having the same manners, the same customs, a common language and a common devotion. The officers were of the best families in Scotland, and were the embodiment of all the virtues that a private soldier so dearly loves in a commander.

Perhaps it may not be out of place to quote here the famous words of the Earl of Chatham when speaking in the House of Lords in 1776 in reference to the Highland regiments. He said:

"I sought for merit wherever it could be found. It is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it and found

it in the mountains of the north. I called it forth and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men; men who, left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies and had gone nigh to have overturned the state in the war before last. These men in the last war were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world."

When the Revolution broke out authority was given to raise a regiment from the disbanded soldiers of these three Regiments and others who could be induced to join it. The command of the first battalion was given to Col. Allan MacLean*, son of Torloisk, late of the 104th Regiment, and the command of the second battalion to John Small, late of the 42nd.

This regiment was called the Royal Highland Emigrants, afterwards the 84th.

Five companies of the 2nd battalion remained in Nova Scotia during the war while the other five joined Clinton and Cornwallis. At Eutaw Springs these five were in the brigade that drove all before them.

The first battalion, 350 strong, assembled at Quebec, but on the approach of the rebels under Montgomery, by Lake Champlain, McLean was ordered to St. Johns, but when at Sorel he heard that Arnold was marching on Quebec. By wonderful marching he succeeded in evading Arnold and getting within the fortress. He arrived just in time, as the city was held by only 50 men of the Fusiliers, some seamen and the militia, and the citizens were about to surrender it. When Carleton arrived he found everything in readiness and in perfect order for withstanding a siege. Had McLean been anything different from what he was, Quebec must have fallen. A weaker commander would have given way under the urgent appeals of the populace. Hatred of rebels to his sovereign was so exasperating that he turned out some of the disaffected to the mercy of the rebels.

An American writer says:—"Some of the faint-hearted were inclined to open the gates, but were held in check by the mastiff loyalty of McLean. The veteran guarded the gates with his Highlanders, forbade all communication with the besiegers, and fired upon their flag as an ensign of rebellion." Again the same writer says, "It was the hope of Washington to conquer Canada,

* Col. Allan McLean was grandfather of our President, Mr. Allan McLean Howard.

but the despatches were withering. The works seemed to Montgomery incapable of defence, the only defenders being McLean's Banditti."

We all know the result of the attack on the last day of the year 1776. Montgomery and a large number of his men killed, Arnold wounded and his men dispirited. However he remained till spring, when he was driven out of Canada.

During the remainder of the war the first battalion was engaged in garrison duty in Canada and in several small expeditions in the rebellious parts of the provinces.

It is a remarkable fact that the Highlanders took the Loyalist side. Every Highland settlement from Georgia to Canada declared for King George. It is remarkable because these people were the ones who suffered expatriation for their adherence to the Stuarts thirty years before.

In the service of Britain were two purely Highland regiments and a third about half Highlanders, and in every other regiment formed of the Loyalists there was a fair proportion of Scotchmen, while there was not one distinctive Highland regiment with the rebels. The attitude of the Highlanders has been a puzzle to historians of the United States. They reason thus:—since the Highlanders were punished by the House of Brunswick for being loyal to the Stuarts, they should now grasp the opportunity to punish the authors of their misfortunes. But they were made of sterner and more reliable stuff. They were of the blood that was loyal to kings. They knew England and England's king, and during their short sojourn in the colonies they had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with his opponents. Because they chose the Royalist side they have been maligned by writers with unceasing regularity, from that time to the present. Because they would not listen to pleasing promises and were proof against intimidation, they have been called weak-minded and little better than slaves who knew not freedom.

In a book published last summer in speaking of N. C. Highlanders, the following expressions of a United states writer may be found.

"That the action of the Highlanders was ill-advised at that time admits of no discussion. They failed to realize the conditions of the country and the insuperable difficulties to overcome before making a junction with Sir Henry Clinton. What they expected to gain by their conduct is uncertain, and why they

should march away a distance of one hundred miles and then be transported by ships to a place they knew not where, thus leaving their wives and children to the mercy of those whom they had offended and driven to arms, made bitter enemies of, must ever remain unfathomable. It shows they were blinded and exhibited the want of ordinary foresight. It is no wonder that although nearly a century and a quarter have elapsed since the Highlanders unsheathed the claymore in the pine forests of North Carolina, not a single person has shown the hardihood to applaud their action."

To my mind it is very easily explained. One word is sufficient—loyalty. The attitude of persons who write as above is also easily explained. Their natures are so constituted that selfishness and the love of mere gain have dwarfed every other noble sentiment, such as self-sacrifice or loyalty to their sovereign.

As descendants of loyalists we are proud of the sturdy Scotch who, in the face of unusually trying circumstances, remained loyal—not merely passively loyal, but were actively loyal, and, rather than live among men guilty of the crime of rebellion, they came to Canada, there to build up a nation such as we have to-day. All honour, I say, to those Highlanders who laid the foundation of New Brunswick, of Nova Scotia, of Prince Edward Island, and part of Upper Canada. May their descendants ever cherish their self-sacrificing deeds and revere the loving devotion of those noble men, and all will be well with the future of Canada.

The Late Loyalists of Upper Canada.

BY J. S. CARSTAIRS, B. A.

Some months ago a recently published book (1) came into my hands, in which there was "A list of the United Empire Loyalists" that settled at a certain point in Western Ontario. Of the forty-seven names given, nine are not in the official list of the U. E. Loyalists, that honor-roll drawn up (2) "to the end that their posterity may be discriminated from future settlers . . . as proper objects by their persevering in the fidelity and conduct so honorable to their ancestors for distinguished benefits and privileges." Not more than six of the remaining thirty-eight had been Loyalists of New Brunswick; while the rest, more than thirty, belong chiefly to a class of pioneers, to which in our opinion, justice has never been done. These are the "late Loyalists,"—men that with great worldly wisdom did not discover their own loyalty to the Empire until they had received Simcoe's (3) unwise invitations to immigrants, issued despite the opposition of Dundas.

It is needless to say that such a historical publication set me thinking and inquiring, and very little research led me not only to doubt the efficacy of such historical methods of creating Loyalists wholesale, but also to conclude that if we wish to read the history of Ontario aright, we must never forget that there were U. E. Loyalists and "late Loyalists." We must remember that there was a head and there was a tail; that the tail came in sight of Canada ten or fifteen years after the head. But that period of time had been sufficient for the "late Loyalists" to learn among their rebel associates the one lesson of disloyalty and sedition.

Before 1784 Upper Canada was a wilderness, an unexplored wilderness. A few of its admirable water-courses had been travelled. Its forests were the hunting-ground for small and scattered bands of Indians. Only the hardy *coureurs de bois*, or the black-robed Jesuits had stemmed its rapid rivers, and had

(1) Ontario Historical Society, Vol. II., The United Empire Loyalist Settlement at Long Point, by L. H. Tasker, M.A.

(2) Order in Council, November 9th, 1789.

(3) Gourlay, Statistical Account of Upper Canada, ii. 446-449.

tramped here and there through its forest solitudes. Its fertile soil was hidden by the giant trees centuries old; its capabilities to repay the diligent labor of the farmer were unthought of; its climate was considered too severe for Europeans. Louis XIV. of France had regarded it as "a few arpents of snow;" Captain Michael Grass had been asked even in 1783 whether Europeans could exist at Fort Frontenac. Accordingly, at the time of the peace of Paris (1763), what we now know as Ontario was about to be given up to the rebellious colonies that were thereby being created a nation.

Within its broad area the only settlements were at Fort Frontenac, and at the Huron mission of Sandwich, with perhaps a few homes on the Canadian side of the Niagara. The Loyalist refugees commonly believed it was a land of snow and ice, where it was six months winter and the rest of the year cold weather. And we need not be surprised that many of the wealthy Loyalists from New York and New Jersey, from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, took ship and found a retreat in England, in the colony of Nova Scotia, or in what afterwards became Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. There were some, however, that had a better knowledge of the possibilities of the land beyond the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario. These were to become the *patres patriae*, and were to be found in the rank and file of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, and Major Jessup's Corps, who settled along the St. Lawrence and the Bay of Quinte; and of Butler's Rangers, who under their commander founded Niagara, and under Caldwell, the Township of Malden. In pleasant emulation there soon grew up, their names a lasting memorial of their loyalty, Kingstown, the metropolis of the St. Lawrence settlers at one end of the lake, Queenstown, the emporium of western trade at the other. But how did these pioneers of Upper Canada gain their knowledge of this land of fruitful promise?

Butler had been an officer in the old French war, and had been present at the taking of Niagara (1759) from the French. Later, in the war of the American rebellion, Fort Niagara had been his headquarters. A less astute man than Colonel John Butler would have quickly perceived the natural charms and advantages of the Niagara peninsula, which thirty-five years later were to awaken the cupidity of the ruthless invading soldiery of the United States. The King's Royal Regiment of New York had done

garrison duty on the St. Lawrence, from Sorel, at the confluence of the Richelieu, to Carleton Island, where Lake Ontario narrows into the picturesque beauties of the Thousand Islands. And doubtless to the homesick citizen soldier all the voices of stream and forest, the ripple of the blue waters, the calmness of the wide river reaches, the all-pervading green of Spring, the many tinted leaves of Autumn, spoke only of the long familiar glories of the Mohawk and the Hudson. Major Robert Rogers knew the land best. For had he not passed up the St. Lawrence and the lakes in 1760, to plant the double-crossed flag in the place of the fleur-de-lis on the western forts?

It is not strange, then, that Sir John Johnson, Major Jessup, Major VanAlstine, and Colonel John Butler, and the survivors of Roger's expedition should have sought new homes in a region that in landscape and natural advantages reminded them so forcibly of their old surroundings within the seceded colonies.

For seven years these old subjects of King George, making new homes in this new land, lived under French laws and held their farms by the French tenure, established by the Quebec Act of 1774. In 1785 and 1786 they impressed their opinion on the Imperial Government by petitions that embodied a more liberal form of colonial government than at that time had obtained in any part of the world. They were the real framers of the new law. Their claims were recognized. And by the Constitutional Act of 1791, the Magna Charta of Canada, which was passed by the younger Pitt, the United Empire Loyalists became a separate entity, and British political institutions were introduced into the northern half of North America.

With our first Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel John Graves Simcoe, there came in 1791 another band of about 430 Loyalists, called the Queen's Rangers, officered chiefly by men of that old colonial corps also called the Queen's Rangers, which Simcoe had commanded in the Revolutionary war. Nearly the whole regiment found homes in Upper Canada, and to it we are indebted for such sturdy Loyalists as Captain (afterwards Major-General) Æneas Shaw, Colonel William Jarvis, Captain Shank, Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) James Givins, Lieutenant (afterwards Major) Thomas Merritt.

Up to this time the population of Upper Canada had consisted almost wholly of men and women whose devotion to the interests of the United Empire had been again and again proved by

privation and self-sacrifice during the long struggle. The Land Boards had inquired into the loyalty and even the moral character of all that applied for allotments. None of the settlers would have thought of returning to their old homes, nor did they sigh for their old neighbours, who had mobbed them, disarmed them and "tarred and feathered" them in a disinterested desire to teach them the new views of liberty. However, Simcoe in his land policy aimed at draining the old seceded colonies of their population, and thus creating a power that in the west should be a menace to their claims and their authority; in his domestic policy he sought to bring into being locally a counterpoise to the commanding influence of Brant and his Indians. Thus, both his foreign and domestic aims might be achieved by encouraging Emigration from the States, only recently united in name under the Federal Constitution of 1787.

Besides, to active Loyalists in the late rebellion, the Land Boards had usually allotted lands to those applicants who were born in the colonies before the revolt and that could give any reasonable explanation for having taken no active part in opposition. But while at Quebec in February, 1792, Simcoe, in writing to Lord Dundas (4) desires to have instructions as to the rights of persons born in the present United States before Independence and those born since, to obtain the rights of British subjects. On February 7th he issued (5) a proclamation inviting emigrants from the United States to settle in Upper Canada. And as a result of this unwise invitation hundreds of settlers, in the hope of bettering their conditions, besieged the Land Boards with applications for land, and, in pursuance of the instructions of the Governor, were received by simply taking the oath of allegiance. General Peter Hunter stated that Simcoe's successor, Hon. Peter Russell, cared so little about the loyalty test that "he would have granted lands to the devil and all his family as good "Loyalists, providing they were able to pay the fees."

Lord Dundas, Secretary for the Colonies, with wonderful foresight, doubtless having before him the example of the seceded colonies, (6) did not take kindly to the optimistic representations of the ambitious Lieutenant-Governor. In a despatch, dated

(4) Simcoe to Dundas, Canadian Archives, 1891. Q. 278-188.

(5) The proclamation is given in full in Gourlay, Statistical Account of Upper Canada, ii. 446-9.

(6) Dundas to Simcoe, do., 1891. Q. 278-172; quoted in part by Lieut.-Col. Cruikshank, "Immigration from the United States into Upper Canada."

July 12th, 1792, he doubted that in the very infancy of the colony great benefit would come from extensive immigration. Population he believed the result rather than the cause of prosperity. An engrafted population would outrun all control, laws and customs; and he considered settlers were coming in sufficient numbers of their own accord, without going out of the way to seduce them.

To this the Governor replied that without a large population the province could not pay its own expenses for years. but with a rapid population it could support itself shortly.

How this injudicious measure affected the Province may be determined by an incident that occurred about this time in the Eastern District, which, with the exception of the Niagara District, was the only settled part. On January 14th, 1792, Hon. John Munro, Legislative Councillor, (7) wrote from Matilda asking how to proceed in civil and criminal matters, since they were now separated from the Province of Quebec. There had been a plot of two men at Augusta to burn the garrison at Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburgh, but at that time and until 1796, a British possession). Justice Sherwood had taken the evidence, but instead of sending them to prison had admitted the men to bail. When examined at the Sessions, the prisoners were committed and sent to Oswegatchie for safe-keeping. Neither of the men was of the Corps of Loyalists. In fact one had actually been a soldier in the rebel ranks and, in spite of objections made by the settlers, had been admitted by Justice Sherwood to receive land. Two other men suspected to be in the plot had decamped. Colonel Cochran (or Coughrin), outlawed in New York, was supposed to be the instigator of the plot.

But in the western peninsula, which was wholly unsettled except in the neighborhood of Newark and Brantford, there were no such guardians. With the exception of the Loyalists from New Brunswick, such as the Ryersons and Ryerses; the Quakers, the Tunkers, and the Mennonites, all non-combatants; and the German settlers from Pennsylvania,—all the new settlers were more or less tainted with disloyalty. And how could it be otherwise?

A half-score of years had elapsed since the close of the war: in the meantime, on what terms had these so-called "Loyalists" been going in and out among the successful and elated rebels?

(7) John Munro to Findlay, Canadian Archives, 1891. Q. 278-68, 75.

Did *they* join in the jubilant jollifications of the first Fourth of July after the peace? If not, how did they escape jailing in half-a-dozen States or survive hanging in all the rest? Had not every State its penal laws against Loyalists and Loyalist sympathizers? Where did they find an outlet for their political feelings; was it amid the bickerings of the club of the Cincinnati or in the political machinations and jobbery of the Columbian Order of St. Tammany? Above all, what magic spark awakened the dead embers of loyalty, slumbering through all these years, when at last, warmed by its fires, they sang:

"The King commands and we'll obey,
Over the hills and far away?"

These questions, doubtless, will never be answered. However, it seems reasonably certain that Simcoe's generous land policy was the only power that could quicken the extinguished loyalty of thousands of these "late Loyalists;" and, perhaps, not that they loved the United States less but Britain's free-grant lands more, they assumed the guise of U. E. Loyalists and flocked into the western peninsula of Upper Canada. There was more "value to be received" now in even a formal allegiance to King George than in 1773 or in 1783. There was no element of uncertainty now in their destination. There was not the fear of the Indian tomahawk and the Indian scalping-knife, as in their own occupied lands of "the dark and bloody ground." Moreover, the labours of the despised, persecuted, proscribed, expatriated Tories of 1783 had in a short time given a value to this land that these patriots for revenue only were now eager to secure. They were to reap where they had sowed not, and to gather where they had not strawed.

Of the volume and character of this alien immigration the writers of those days have left us in no doubt. John Maude, an Englishman, on his way to Niagara Falls in 1800, met two families going to Canada: "Their intention is to seek shelter under the British Government from the tyranny of the United States. 'We fought seven years to get rid of taxation and now we are taxed more than ever. D——n my eyes,' said one of these sons of freedom, 'was we now to have another war with England, I would not act so like a d——d fool as I did the last.' 'How like a fool, friend?' 'Why, d——n me, to fight against them.' These families were from the disaffected countries of Pennsylvania. Hundreds of them have removed, are removing and will

remove into Upper Canada, where they will form a nest of vipers in the bosom that fosters them."

In a letter dated Oct. 27th, 1802, Colonel Talbot (9) says that "the population consisting of refugees from all parts, principally from the United States, may be thus classed: 1. Those enticed by a gratuitous offer of land, without any predilection on their part for the British Constitution. 2. Those who have fled from the United States for crimes or to escape their creditors. 3. Republicans, whose principal motive for settling in the country is an anticipation of its shaking off its allegiance to Great Britain. These three descriptions of persons, with a few exceptions, comprise the present population." No doubt this was true of that part of Upper Canada which Colonel Talbot knew best.

Major William Graham, who settled on Yonge St., in writing to the Hon. D. W. Smith, says:—"I am sorry to find in the dispositions of several of the inhabitants of Yonge St., and in particular those from the Northern States that they show a very great contempt to the officers of the Government, both civil and military; and it is their whole desire to have the election of all their own officers. Mr. Wilson and I mean to wait on the Governor in Council to point out a few of the most officious ones amongst them. As for Fish and Littlehide, the schoolmasters, they use all their efforts to poison the minds of the youth by teaching them in Republican books, and in particular in the third part of Webster's History. . . . Youths educated in such books will by and by have the privilege of voting members for our Assembly and filling the House with their own kind; and when that is the case what may the Governor and Council expect but trouble? As I had the misfortune to live in Maryland before the rebellion in America, I was an eye-witness to the steps they took."

The Duke de la Rouchefoucault Liancourt in his travels spent (*vide* Gourlay's Statistical Account of Upper Canada, ii. 143.) some time with Governor Simcoe at Navy Hall, and has said: "We were also told that General Simcoe, from his eager desire to people Upper Canada, is by no means difficult in regard to the qualifications of the new settlers who present themselves; and that, notwithstanding his aversion to speculation in land, and his personal disinterestedness, frequently a whole township, nay, at times two or three together, are assigned to one and the same person."

(9) Talbot to Sullivan, Canadian Archives, 1892. Q. 293—248.

Throughout the trouble between Sir Francis Gore and Judge Thorpe there is abundant evidence that disloyalty and sedition are gaining ground in the young province. In a letter (10) to George Watson, Oct. 7th, 1807, the Lieutenant-Governor wrote: "Sedition is gaining ground faster than I apprehended." And early the next year he wrote to Sir James Craig (11):

"I think I may venture to state that the generality of the inhabitants from Kingston to the borders of the Lower Provinces may be depended upon, but I cannot venture from the industry that has been used by certain characters now and lately in this province to assert that the inhabitants about the seat of this Government, Niagara, and Long Point are equally to be relied on. I have also to observe that, excepting the inhabitants of Glengarry and those persons who had served in the American war and their descendants, which form a considerable body of men, the residue of the inhabitants of this Colony consist chiefly of persons who have emigrated from the States of America and of consequence retain those ideas of equality and insubordination much to the prejudice of this Government so prevalent in that country."

The volume of this migration is ably discussed by Lieut.-Col. Cruikshank in "Immigration from the United States into Upper Canada, 1784-1812, Its Character and Results." From contemporary writers he is led to conclude that "in the Home, Midland, Newcastle, and London districts the recent immigrants from the United States outnumbered all the other inhabitants at least two to one. Two-thirds of the members of the Assembly and one-third of the magistrates were natives of the United States, and as the juries were selected in rotation from each township as the names stood upon the assessment rolls, a majority of these were usually Americans."

It is not hard then to understand that along the St. Lawrence, among the disbanded soldiers of Sir John Johnson's "Royal Yorkers," the severest penalty short of death was banishment to the United States. And no settler would be received among them unless his loyalty were assured. In the western peninsula, land grantees again and again sold their grants and returned, glowing with satisfaction over a good business stroke, to the United States. It was no punishment to them to live among rebels.

(10) Canadian Archives, 1892. Note D. No. 45, p. 113.

(11) Canadian Archives, 1896. Q. 107--236.

But enough remained. There came a time in the history of the young colony when its people were forced into an unjust and aggressive war, waged with a ferocity unparalleled in the history of all wars. Did these "late Loyalists" prove true to the land that had received and enriched them? Did they heed the nobler promptings that must come even to the meanest of the human race? When in July, 1812, Brock was earnestly making the best of the small forces at his command, (12) "some of the militia, composed of the Norfolk settlers from the United States and their descendants, had abstained as a body from acting on the order to assemble." In his speech opening the Legislature two days later, July 28th, Brock had these settlers in his mind when he said, (13) "A few traitors have already joined the enemy, have been suffered to come into the country with impunity and have been harboured and concealed in the interior;" for in a letter of the same date to Sir George Prevost, (14) "I conceived," he writes, "the Long Point militia the most likely to show the best disposition of any in this part of the country, and this refusal to join Captain Chambers shows the little dependence to be placed in any of them." How different was the conduct of the York Militia, who, the very next day, (15) volunteered their services to any part of the province without the least hesitation.

Rev. Alexander Macdonnell, afterwards the first Roman Catholic bishop of Kingston, "had directed his attention in time of peace to nourish and foment the loyal principles of their ancestors in the minds of his flock, and to preserve them from republican principles, which, by means of the uncontrolled influx of emigrants from the United States, he found rapidly diffusing in every part of Canada."

Colonel Talbot, in a (16) letter of the 18th of May, 1813, stated:

"The militia of a large portion of this district shew great promptness in turning out, but there is part of the County of Oxford that, with a very few exceptions, are, I am sorry to say, composed of a more violent and systematic band than those that

(12) Kingsford, *History of Canada*, viii. 191.

(13) Cruikshank, *Documentary History of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier in 1812*, iii. 148.

(14) *Ibid.* iii. 148-9.

(15) *Ibid.* iii. 152.

(16) *Ibid.* v. 235.

compose the American army. Should Sir George [Prevost] reach the lines with a strong force I will recommend that all the aliens should be sent out of the Province with as little delay as possible. They are indefatigable in spreading discord among the inhabitants, and it would be a most salutary measure did circumstances admit to send 100 or even 50 regulars to be stationed at Turkey Point under an active and steady officer, as the presence of such a force would create the necessary confidence in the well-disposed and traitors would be intimidated into subordination."

The New York *Statesman* of March 29th, 1813, reported that (17) "A gentleman who had been ordered from Detroit in consequence of his refusal to take the oath, arrived at Lewiston on the 27th ult., and informed the Editor that the militia of Oxford, a large and well-settled township above the head of Lake Ontario, peremptorily refused to march against General Harrison, and that numbers in different places would pay their fines rather than turn out against the United States." And again in its issue of May 29th, 1813, the same paper, reproducing a letter from the Baltimore *Whig* of May 7th, relating to the capture of York, (18) said: "Many [of the inhabitants] entreated us to hold the place and give them protection, promising us aid, deprecating further exposure to the fury and prosecution of the Royalists."

In the same connection Chief Justice Powell deplotes in one of his letters (19) "the turbulent minds of some wretches of our own population, whose thirst for plunder was more alarming to the inhabitants than the presence of the enemy." Corroboration of this statement is not difficult to find. The officers of the York militia and others in an account of the taking of York report that "a great number of traitorous people had come from the country and pillaged nearly as much from the King's stores and from private individuals as the enemy."

An Irish traveller, P. Finan, who had reached York only the day before the capture, tells us:

"At a short distance from the town we met several inhabitants of the country going to it, who made no scruples to express themselves well satisfied with our success and their new masters." And as he went farther conditions did not

(17) Ibid. v. 133.

(18) Ibid. v. 172.

(19) Ibid. v. 174.

improve. "The majority of the inhabitants of this part of the country evinced great disloyalty as we proceeded, being much gratified with the success of the Americans, and, considering that they had nothing to fear from us, did not hesitate to avow it. In many instances they concealed their horses, wagons, etc., in the woods to avoid accommodating us with them, and told us they had none."

"Our adherents and friends in Upper Canada suffer greatly in apprehension or in actual misery. Eighteen or twenty of them who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England lived the last winter in a cave or subterraneous hut near Lake Simcoe."

Late in 1813, the people of Norfolk openly showed their traitorous sympathies with the enemy. When General Vincent was holding Burlington Heights, (23) "two companies of the 100th, which had been stationed at Normandale, in the township of Charlotteville, in the County of Norfolk, were ordered to abandon the post and join headquarters. Orders were also sent to disembody the militia, and to call in the arms. The departure of the troops from Norfolk gave encouragement to the settlers originally from the United States, whose sympathies were anti-British. They had gained courage from Proctor's defeat, and considered that by that event Upper Canada had passed from British control, and that now was the time to make the loyal population feel their power. They commenced by plundering the houses of the militia men absent in the field on duty, and at the same time acted with insolent hostility. . . . An association was formed for the common protection, and . . . forty-five volunteers marched under the command of Lieut.-Col. Bostwick to chastise them. They met these parties not far from Port Dover; several of them were killed and wounded, eighteen were taken prisoners. They were tried at Ancaster for high treason, fifteen were found guilty and sentenced to capital punishment."

Indeed, the whole western *peninsula was, during the war,

(20) Ibid. v. 200.

(21) Ibid. v. 211.

(22) Ibid. v. 269.

(23) Kingsford, History of Canada, viii. 376-7.

*There is one notable exception. Early in the century, many Palatine Germans from Pennsylvania, of the same parent stock with the settlers on the St. Lawrence, being dissatisfied with the form of Government in that state, came to Upper Canada and settled, chiefly in what are now the counties of Wellington and Waterloo.

honey-combed with treachery; and its militia by their conduct (24) exposed to imminent danger, as Brock himself says, the regulars at Amherstburg. And the Militia Act did not give him sufficient power to restrain (25) the general population from treasonable adherence to the enemy, or neutrality by summary proceeding and punishment. In strongest contrast to the baseness of the settlers in Western Upper Canada, is the loyal activity of the U. E. Loyalists of the St. Lawrence. Throughout the war the local militia defended, without regular troops, the whole line of communication, and but once lost a convoy of supplies. And in 1813 when Wilkinson came down the St. Lawrence with 10,000 men to attack Montreal—the largest hostile force that ever touched our soil—it was the local militia that hampered the invaders until they were forced to fight at Crysler's Farm and to hide their defeat in the darkness of that November night. But when, in the next year, General McArthur, with only 600 Kentuckians, made his barbarous raid on the West, he went from the St. Clair to the Grand River and back on his course of "wanton plunder, devastation, and indiscriminate pillage," unmolested and almost unheralded. The settlers furnished him guides. No guerilla bands hung on his rear—he had a sort of triumphal procession of pillaging through a friendly land.

There is abundant evidence easily obtained that the state of public sentiment in Canada at this time was well understood in the neighboring republic. There were generals who offered to take the country in six months. There were constructive statesmen who believed that the militia of even one of the newer states would be more than sufficient for this war of aggrandisement. Fortunate was it that there were enough Loyalist settlers, true Loyalists—not the late Loyalists—to defeat the machinations, both from within and from without, of the United States.

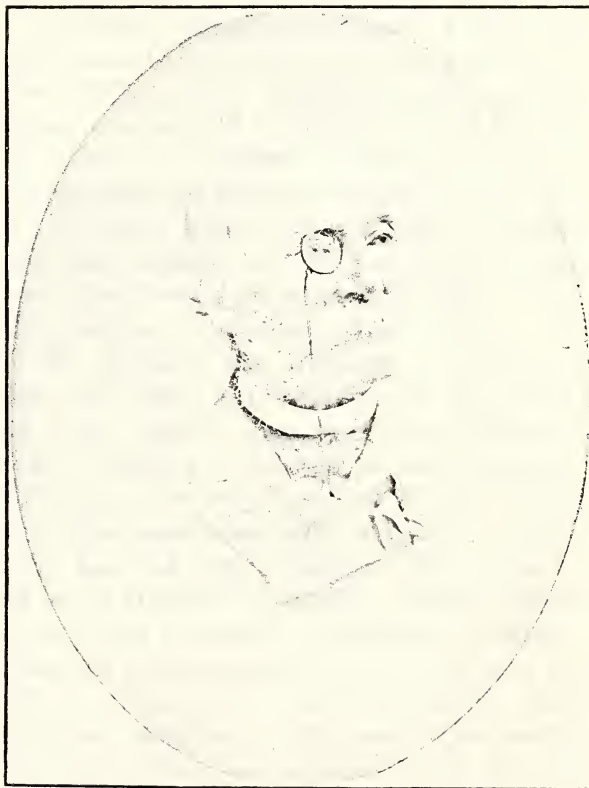
Nor can we wonder that after the war, purged as Upper Canada was from the poison within her own bosom, those Loyalists, who had lost a country, made a country and saved a country, should seek to save themselves and their posterity from their antagonists in this threefold experience. Stringent restrictions were adopted in respect of future immigration. The pendulum of reaction swung to the other extreme; and, to prevent sedition, those men who had fought and bled to save the land we live in

(24) Cruikshank, *Doc. His*, iii. 162.

(25) *Ibid.* iii. 163.

were often severe, often unjust, in their relations with some who loyally and conscientiously sought a liberal and more representative form of government. If, in their eagerness, the adherents to the Imperial principle dealt harshly with Gourlay, Collins and the Bidwells, we might well remember that their well-meant efforts to keep the growing population loyal to the motherland were not wholly effectual and that the student of their history can find some justification for them in this one stern fact: the geographical limits of the districts disaffected in 1812 practically coincide with the parts of Upper Canada that were the hotbeds of the rebellion of 1837.

It is proper to come here from time to time and twine a laurel wreath on the tombs of those departed heroes "of a lost and "beaten cause, to whose memory history has borne but a scanty "tribute." Simcoe's mistaken land policy brought a train of evils that these earnest men, thrice tried in the fire of affliction, could not avert. What shall be the attitude of their descendants toward the land policy of the day when an alien population is flocking to our shores? Can we believe, in the light of the past not only of our own country but of the older countries, that the Galicians, the Doukhobors and the polyglot colonies of the Northwest are a stable foundation on which to establish a sound Canadian spirit throughout this portion of Greater Britain? Perhaps even in their provincial narrowness our forebears were wiser than their descendants.



ALLAN MCLEAN HOWARD.

President—1901.

ALLAN McLEAN HOWARD.

Mr. Allan McLean Howard, the President of the U.E.L. Association for the year 1900, is a charter member of the Association, and one of its chief organizers. He was born at York, now Toronto, in 1825. His father, James Scott Howard, a native of Bandon, Cork, Ireland, came to this country in 1819, and took a position with the Hon. William Allan. In 1828 he was appointed Postmaster of York, an office he held till 1837. In 1842 he was appointed Treasurer of the Home District. Mr. Howard's mother was Salome McLean, daughter of Captain Archibald McLean, and grand-daughter of Col. Allan McLean, of the 84th Highland Emigrants, to whom was largely due the successful defence of Quebec against the rebels during the winter of 1776-77. She was also the grand-daughter of Captain James French, of Delancy's Corps. Mr. Howard was educated at Toronto, and since his youth has taken a prominent part in church affairs, having been many times a Delegate to the Diocesan Synod, and on several occasions a delegate to the Provincial Synod. Since 1854 he has been clerk of the First Division Court. In 1852 he married Wilhelmina Macdonald, a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, and has had eight children. The eldest is Allan McLean, clerk in the Division Court office; another, James Scott, has taken orders, and is rector at Newcastle, Ontario. Donald, after studying law and being called to the bar, took up military service, and as a Captain in the Royal Grenadiers took part in the North-West Rebellion, 1885; was subsequently appointed to the N. W. M. Police; and served during the late Boer war as Major of the Strathcona Horse under Col. Steele. He is at present in the Yukon, as Inspector in the Mounted Police.

MAJOR WILLIAM HAMILTON MERRITT.

The portrait of the Honorary Secretary of the Association, and one of its founders, is given on the accompanying page. Major Merritt is the son of William Hamilton Merritt and his wife, Janet Lang, of whom a short notice appears in the Obituaries in this volume, and grandson of the Hon. William Hamilton Merritt. He is by profession a Mining Engineer, but is much better known to the Association as a Militia Officer. He entered the Governor General's Body Guard as Cornet 29th February, 1884; promoted to Lieutenant, 6th June, 1884; Captain, 31st May, 1889; Major, Second in Command of Regt., 11th June, 1898; was Adjutant of the Regt. about nine years, including service as Acting Adjutant in North-West Campaign, 1885, under Colonel George Taylor Denison, in which service he captured the Sioux Chief, Whitecap, an incident referred to in the "Historical Record of the Governor General's Body Guard," and also in Denison's "Soldiering in Canada" (medal). Was attached for instruction to 20th Hussars at Aldershot in 1890, and received a certificate. When the South African War broke out he went at his own expense to Cape Town to offer his services, and was appointed a Squadron Commander in 1st Regt. Brabant's Horse, (Colonial Division) under Gen. Brabant; was transferred as Second in Command to 2nd Regt. of the same Brigade; and was subsequently A.D.C. to General Brabant, and to his successors in the Command, Col. Dalgety, C.B., and Col. Cuming, C.B. Certified by General Sir E. Y. Brabant K.C.B., C.M.G., to having taken part in following operations and general actions in 1900: *Eastern Cape Colony*, including "Labuschagne's Nek" (March 4th and 5th), and "Aliwal North" (March 11th), "Siege of Wepener" (April 9th to 25th); *Eastern Orange Free State* (surrender of Prinsloo in Brandwater Basin—Wittebergen), including "Lieliefontein" (June 26th), and "Roode Krantz" (July 23rd); *Chase after De Wet*, including "Schoolplatz" (Aug. 12th), and "Magato's Nek" (Aug. 16th); *Attacks by De la Rey in Western Transvaal*, including "Doernhoek" (Aug. 26th), "Kwaggafontein" (Aug. 31st), and "Cyferfontein" (Sept. 1st); *Against De Wet in North Orange River Colony*, including "Vrededorp" (Oct. 5th, 6th, and 7th). (Medal with four clasps).



MAJOR WILLIAM HAMILTON MERRITT.

Hon. Sec.-Treas.—1896-1903.

On the Colonial Division being disbanded, Major Merritt received the following official recognition of services from General Brabant :

PRETORIA, 25th Oct., 1900.

Major W. Hamilton Merritt.

Sir,—On the eve of your return to Canada it affords me great pleasure to certify that you joined Brabant's Horse in December, 1899, and that you were given command of the last Squadron raised. The men were an unusually rough lot, but you speedily brought them to a high state of efficiency. You served with the 1st Brabant's Horse as Squadron Commander for a period of nearly six months, during which you saw considerable fighting, including the defence of Jammersburg Drift Camp near Wepener, and your conduct gave entire satisfaction to your Commanding Officers. After commanding the Squadron in the field for about six months, you resigned your command and joined my staff in order to gain practical knowledge of staff work. You served as extra A.D.C. on my staff for about four months, and both with me and my successor in Command of the Colonial Division, you performed your duties with zeal and ability.

With kind regards and good wishes for your future career.

I am, Dear Major Merritt,

Yours faithfully,

E. Y. BRABANT, Br. General,
Commanding Colonial Division.

In February, 1901, an offer made by Major Merritt to raise a mounted force of Canadians for service in South Africa was accepted by the Imperial Government, and he was authorized to raise a regiment, at Imperial expense, to be called "The Canadian Rangers," and to select the officers and men, subject to the consent of the Canadian Government, which consent, however, was refused; but as the outcome of the correspondence which then took place the 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles was raised in December, 1901, and the command given to a permanent corps officer, when Major Merritt, notwithstanding the altered circumstances, loyally accepted the position of Second in Command. Shortly after reaching South Africa he unfortunately met with a severe accident which prevented his taking an active part in the services of the Corps, with which he returned to Canada at the conclusion of the War. On the Regiment being disbanded, an address was presented to him by the men who had served in it as follows :—

HALIFAX, July 22, 1902.

To Major Merritt, 2nd C.O., 2nd C.M.R.

Sir,—As this day, we, the men of the 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles, separate and go to our homes, after a victorious campaign in South Africa, we, as Canadian volunteers under your command, desire in this way to convey to you our sincere sympathy in your sickness.

Also, Sir, we remember it is largely due to your untiring and enthusiastic efforts, inspired by your true spirit of loyalty, patriotism and wide experience in the field, that our regiment was formed, when it was hurried to the front in time to add fresh laurels to Canada's fame and sustain her glorious reputation in the closing struggles of the great English-Boer war.

We desire also, Sir, to thank you for your always kindly treatment and consideration of your men, and thus we are pleased to inform you that you have won our respect and confidence as a friend, gentleman, soldier and leader.

We wish you, Sir, many years of health and happiness and success, and the benediction of heaven upon you.

On the reception of the Toronto members of the 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles, the Mayor of Toronto in presenting field glasses and a Civic Medal, observed: "It was owing to Major Merritt's efforts that the 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles was sent at all; and it was owing to his efforts that the contingent arrived in time to take part in that crowning event of the war, the Hart's River engagement."

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN.

May it please your Majesty :

We, the members of the United Empire Loyalists' Associations of the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia desire humbly to approach your Majesty with the expression of our condolence upon the occasion of the demise of your august mother, our late revered and beloved Queen, under whose wise and maternal rule most of us have lived our whole lives.

We know of nothing more beautiful, more inspiring, more impressive in national history than the record of that matchless reign of sixty-three years. During all that time, with the most sincere devotion to duty, with the most ardent love for her people, and with far more than ordinary judgment and discretion, Queen Victoria has laboured for the good of the kingdom ; and, under many difficulties, has, by the Divine blessing, built up an Empire unparalleled in all the ages, remarkable not more for its vastness, than for the unanimity and happiness of all its portions.

The nineteenth century will always be known among English-speaking people, and throughout the world, as the Victorian Era—an age of rapidly increasing enlightenment, and of progress in civilization and morality.

The United Empire Loyalists of Canada claim to be amongst the most faithful and devoted of your Majesty's subjects. One hundred and twenty years ago their ancestors, many of them prosperous, wealthy, learned, and in high positions in the North American Colonies, rather than renounce their allegiance to their King, and live under an alien flag, gave up all their earthly possessions and worldly prospects in the revolted colonies, and bravely faced the greatest difficulties and privations in commencing life anew in what was then for the most part unbroken forest. That the Dominion of Canada has become what it is, may be considered due in a large measure to the self-denial, toil, and patriotism of these hardy pioneers. For British connection they and their descendants fought and conquered in the War of 1812 ; and during the disturbances at the beginning

of Her Majesty's reign most of them were found on the side of loyalty and order.

The traditions of Loyalty to the Throne have come down to us from our ancestors, and we willingly transfer to her son the devotion which was inspired by our Mother Queen. We confidently believe that the royal mantle has fallen upon no unworthy shoulders, and that your Majesty will exhibit and perpetuate the virtues which you inherit from your illustrious parents. We pray that the Divine blessing may rest upon your Majesty and upon her gracious Majesty the Queen and the Royal Family; that your reign may be long and happy; that you may ever be strong in the affections of your people, and respected and esteemed throughout the world.

Toronto, the fifth day of February, 1901.

For the United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario.

To His Royal Highness George Frederick Ernest Albert, Duke of Cornwall and York, Duke of Rothesay, Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha and Duke of Saxony, Earl of Carrick and Inverness, Baron of Renfrew and Killarney, Lord of the Isles and Great Steward of Scotland, K. G., P. C., K. T., K. P., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., LL.D., D.C.L., etc., etc.

May it please your Royal Highness :

The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario desire to be permitted, as representing a large number of His Majesty's loyal subjects, to join with other representatives of the people of Canada in welcoming your Royal Highness and Her Royal Highness, the Duchess of Cornwall and York, on the happy occasion of your visit to this part of His Majesty's Dominions.

This Association is an incorporated body composed of descendants of those who, at the close of the American Revolution, abandoning their homes and many valuable possessions, came to this country, which was then for the most part a vast wilderness, to begin life anew in poverty and hardships rather than suffer their allegiance to your Royal Highness' ancestor King George the 3rd to be severed ; having for its objects the preservation of historical details regarding that immigration and those who had part in it, and the promotion and preservation to all time of the spirit of loyalty by which those pioneers were actuated. It is, therefore, in the highest degree gratifying to them that they have this opportunity of offering to your Royal Highness the renewal of assurances of devotion and loyalty to the Crown which their ancestors in successive generations have declared in times of peace and displayed in time of war, and which it is their desire and purpose steadfastly and faithfully to maintain.

Toronto, the tenth day of October, 1901.

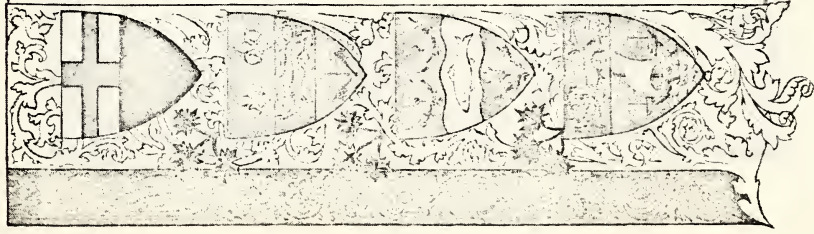


His Royal Highness

George Frederick Ernest Albert,
Duke of Cornwall and York,
Duke of Rothesay, Prince of Saxe-
Cobourg and Gotha, and Duke of Saxony;
Earl of Carrick and Inverness; Baron
of Kentren and Killarney; Lord of the
Isles and Great Steward of Scotland:

K.G., P.C., K.T., K.P., G.C.M.G.,

G.C.V.O., LL.D., D.C.L., &c., &c.,



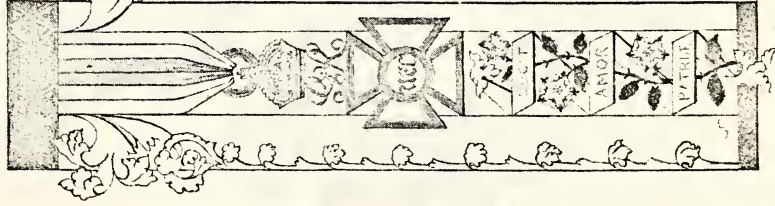
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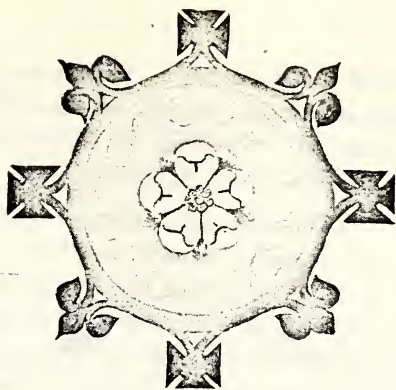
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men, long in successive generations, have declared in times of peace and displayed in times of war; and which it is their desire and purpose steadily and faithfully to maintain.

Toronto, the tenth day of October 1901.





VIGNETTE.



TAIL PIECE.

To the Officer Commanding, Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the Second Special Service Battalion of the Royal Regiment of Canadian Infantry returning to Headquarters from Service in South Africa :

The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario feel that your return from service in South Africa is an occasion upon which it is both a pleasure and a duty for U. E. Loyalists to come forward and to express in as public a manner as they may have opportunity of doing, the feelings which they entertained when you and your comrades offered your services to the Queen for the preservation and unity of the Empire. They have watched the brilliant career of the Regiment from that to the present time, noting, as they have done in common with all other Canadians, the uniform success which has attended the operations in which the Regiment has taken part, and in this respect they recall with special pride and gratification the action of the Regiment at Paardeberg, which may be reasonably claimed to have been the particular stroke delivered against the enemy which broke his military power.

While such feelings are held by all Canadians, the U. E. Loyalists feel that it is permissible for them in an especial manner to find cause for congratulation. It is as if their ancestors four generations ago had not in vain gathered and hoarded the spirit of loyalty and unselfish loving sacrifice, and passed on the chest of brave deeds the key to which is safe in the keeping of such loyal sons of Canada as you have proved yourselves to be. They in those remote days saw as with prophetic vision the far-reaching meaning of a United Empire.

A WELCOME.

From the U. E. Loyalists of Canada whose forefathers sacrificed life and property for the maintenance of the British Empire, to those brave officers and men who have given their services, and in some cases their lives, for the strengthening and unity of the Empire.

Welcome, a thousand times welcome, and welcome again,
History hands down the ages the deeds of your fame.
Sons of a glorious Empire, and sons of our soil,
Where is your gold, for is not to the victors the spoil ?

Treasure ye have, but it is not the treasure of wealth
Snatched from the corpse and the carnage of battle in stealth ;
Deep in the hearts of a grateful people it lies,
Like roots of a plant that live down in the earth, never dies.

For ye have proved yourselves true to the trust that we gave,
Proved yourselves loyal, obedient, devoted and brave ;
Ye have the noble work crowned of our fathers at rest,
And through all hardships and pain, ye have given your best.

Ye have encircled the world by a clasp of the hand,
With our kin of Australia in an African land.
Ye have stood out as a proof to the nations of earth
That henceforth all her Colonies shall be England's girth.

Some of your comrades ye left on the veldt with the slain,
And some in the hospital camp in fever and pain,
And ye have come back to your homes, but sure ye must know
With thanks to all our brave soldiers our hearts overflow.
Then welcome, a thousand times welcome, and welcome again,
History hands down the ages the deeds of your fame.

CATHARINE NINA MERRITT,
40 St. George Street.

November 5, 1900.

"GOD SAVE THE KING."

Put by the banners, furl the flags that flutter in the summer breeze,
Send back the troops encamped around, and speed them o'er the Seven Seas.
Hush the glad shouts of millions, all expectant for a royal show,
Untwine the wreaths and quench the flaming torch, for the King lies low !
Down on your knees, peers, parliament and people, on your knees and sing !
With meaning new, uniting heart and soul and strength,

"God Save the King."

Let no one nurture selfish thoughts before so great a nation's blow,
Let no one count the cost in kind, or murmur, while the King lies low ;
In tribulation we are one, around the world we form a ring ;
Briton by Briton, bowed in grief, we supplicate,"

"God Save the King."

CATHERINE NINA MERRITT.

London, June 29, 1902.

BADGE AND RIBBON OF THE U. E. L. ASSOCIATION

BADGE.—A cross paty, white, fimbriated gold, bearing in the centre within a circle of gold the letters (in old English) U.E.L., and above the cross the monogram (letters of script) G.R. surmounted by the British Imperial Crown of its proper colours; the letters and monogram of gold. Motto: Ducit Amor Patriae.

RIBBON.—Of longitudinal stripes, namely: blue, one-sixth of the width; white, one-sixth; red, two-sixths; white, one-sixth; blue, one-sixth. Otherwise, a ribbon consisting of a middle red stripe of one-third of the width, between two white stripes each one-sixth of the width, and outer blue stripes, each also one-sixth of the width.

Obituary.

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HIS HONOUR JUDGE JONES, Brantford.

MRS. ERIE RAYMOND TISDALE, Orillia.



STEPHEN MAULE JARVIS.



MRS. JANET LANG MERRITT.

STEPHEN MAULE JARVIS.

Stephen Maule Jarvis, of Toronto, barrister-at-law, was born 22nd November, 1822, and died 16th May, 1902. He was the third son of Frederick Starr Jarvis, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, and grandson of Col. Stephen Jarvis, **U. E. L.** He married 10th September, 1850, Mary, daughter of Thomas Stinson, of Hamilton, and had three sons, and (besides another who died in infancy), one daughter, the late Mrs. Margaret Isabella Maule Clarkson.

MRS. JANET LANG MERRITT.

Mrs. Janet Lang Merritt, who died 3rd March, 1901, widow of William Hamilton Merritt, barrister-at-law, (son of the Hon. William Hamilton Merritt, **U. E. L.**) was the daughter of Lieut.-Col. the Hon. James Morris, of Brockville, [and his wife Emily Rosamond, (U. E. L. descent) daughter of Henry Murney, of Kingston], and granddaughter of Alexander Morris, who came to Canada from Scotland in 1801, and his wife Janet, daughter of Alexander Lang, of Paisley, Scotland. Mrs. Merritt left surviving her one son, Major William Hamilton Merritt, and two daughters.

MRS. ERIE RAYMOND TISDALE.

Mrs. Erie Raymond Tisdale, wife of William Bousfield Tisdale, Orillia, who died 1st February, 1902, aged 56, was the daughter of Thomas Waters, of Port Dover and Windsor, (originally of Hailsham, near Hastings, County Sussex, England, and came to Canada about 1830), and his wife Georgina Spence Stevens, daughter of Ontario Stevens and his wife Elizabeth Augusta Nelles, who was the daughter of Henry Nelles, of Grimsby, son of Col. Robert Nelles, **U. E. L.** Mrs. Tisdale d. s. p.

MISS JANE HANNAH JARVIS.

Miss Jane Hannah Jarvis was born 10th August, 1827, the daughter of William Munson Jarvis, of Hamilton, Sheriff of the Gore District, and his wife Anne Sumpsion Racey, and granddaughter of the Hon. William Jarvis, **U. E. L.**, Provincial Secretary.

SIR JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT.

Sir John George Bourinot, K.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L., D.L., F.R.S.C., Clerk of the House of Commons at Ottawa, who died 13th October, 1902, was the son of Hon. John Bourinot, of Sydney, C.B., and his wife Jane Catherine, third daughter of Judge Marshall, who was the son of Col. Joseph Marshall, **U. E. L.**, of Georgia, who served in the Revolutionary War, and came to Canada in 1783, and settled in the County of Guysboro, N. S. Sir John Bourinot was distinguished as an authority on Parliamentary matters. He was the author of "A Manual of Constitutional History," "Parliamentary Practice and Procedure in Canada," "The Story of Canada," "How Canada is Governed," etc.

HON. ARTHUR STURGIS HARDY.

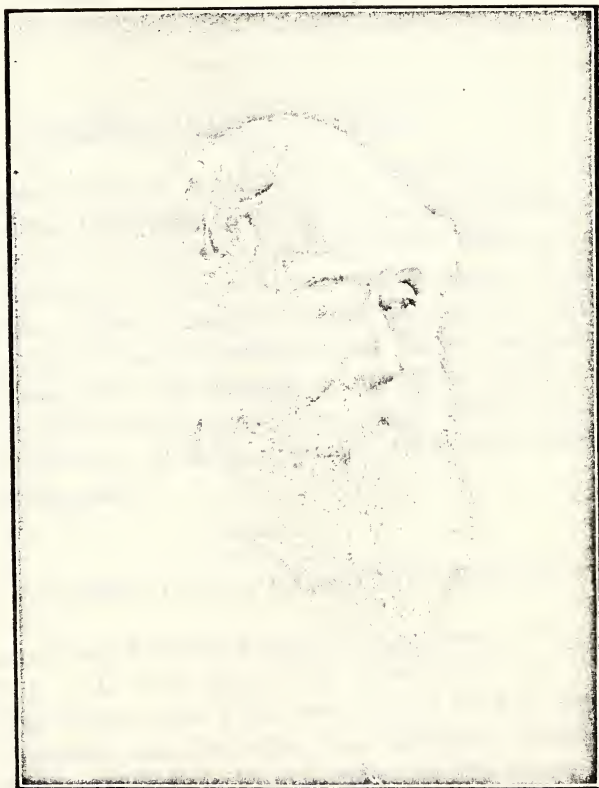
Hon. Arthur Sturgis Hardy, LL.D., K.C., was born 14th December, 1837, at Mountpleasant, near Brantford. He was the son of Russell Hardy, and his wife Julietta Sturgis (of U.E.L. descent.) He was called to the bar in 1865, and practised at Brantford. Was elected M.L.A. in 1873; was Provincial Secretary 1877; Commissioner of Crown Lands 1889; Attorney-General 1896. He retired from public life in 1899, and died June 13th, 1901. He married 1870 Mary, daughter of the Hon. Joseph Curran Morrison, and left issue.

MRS. ANNE JANE SEYMOUR.

Mrs. Anne Jane Seymour, of Ottawa, widow of Capt. Charles Seymour, died 6th September, 1902. She was usually accounted as the last living **U. E. L.** immigrant, having been born at Albany, in the State of New York, 24th August, 1806, the Powells having come as a family to Canada in the **U. E. L.** immigration; but Mrs. Seymour's father being quite young at that time afterwards went back and remained for some time, rejoining the others in Canada after settling up their affairs in the United States. She was the daughter of Grant Powell, and his wife Elizabeth Staats, daughter of John Bleecker, of Albany, N. Y. Mrs. Seymour had two sons, Charles, who resided for some time in British Columbia, and afterwards at Kimberley in South Africa, and Grant, who died in 1892, unmarried, and a daughter.



MRS. ANNE JANE SEYMOUR.



CLARK GAMBLE, K.C.

SIR RODERICK WILLIAM CAMERON.

Sir Roderick William Cameron, a New York and London merchant and capitalist, born at Williamstown, July 25th, 1825, was the son of Duncan Cameron, a partner in the Northwest Fur Company, and some time M.P.P. for Glengarry. Sir Roderick was a delegate from Canada to Washington in 1849 and 1850 in the negotiations for a reciprocity treaty; and was engaged in several public services. He was knighted in 1883. He married in 1846 Mary Anne Cumming, who died in 1858, and in 1861 Anne Fleming, daughter of Nathan Leavenworth, of New York.

JOSEPH CLARKE GAMBLE.

Joseph Clarke Gamble, of Toronto, K.C., died 28th Nov., 1902, aged 94. He was the fourth son of John Gamble, **U.E.L.**, (son of William Gamble of Duross near Enniskillen, Ireland), who served as a Regimental Surgeon in the revolutionary war, after which he settled in New Brunswick and subsequently in Upper Canada. Mr. Clarke Gamble married Mary Sayre, daughter of D'Arcy Boulton, who died leaving a daughter Sarah, and secondly 22nd May, 1843, Harriet Eliza, daughter of the Hon. Henry John Boulton, of which marriage there have been six sons and two daughters.

HIS HONOUR JACOB FARRAND PRINGLE.

His Honour Jacob Farrand Pringle, of Cornwall, died February 1st, 1901. He was born, 27th June, 1816, the son of James Pringle, Lieut. 81st Foot, who retired on half pay and settled at Cornwall, and his wife Ann Margaret, daughter of Joseph Anderson, **U.E.L.** He was called to the Bar in 1838; Clerk of the Peace and County Attorney, 1858 to 1866; County Judge of Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry from 1866 until a short time before his death; was Mayor of Cornwall in 1855, 1856; served in the Militia in 1837, and was subsequently Captain of a company of Volunteers. He married, 10th September, 1844, Isabella, daughter of Colonel the Hon. Alexander Fraser, and had issue five sons and five daughters.

THE HON. GEORGE WILLIAM ALLAN.

The Hon. George William Allan, P.C. (Canada), D.C.L., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., born 9th January, 1822, died 24th July, 1901. He was the son of the Hon. William Allan, of Toronto, and his wife, Leah Tyrer, daughter of Dr. John Gamble, **U.E.L.**, and grandson of Alexander Allan, of the Moss, near Huntley, Aberdeenshire, Scotland. Mr. Allan was Mayor of Toronto, 1855; member of the Legislative Council of Canada, 1858 to 1867, when he was called to the Senate, of which he was Speaker 1888 to 1891. Was Chancellor of Trinity College, and member of St. Alban's Cathedral Chapter; President of the Ontario Society of Artists, of the Historical Society of Ontario, and of the Upper Canada Bible Society. He presented five acres of land to the City of Toronto as a public garden. He married in 1846, Louisa Maud, daughter of Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart., who d. s. p. in 1852, and secondly May, 1857, Adelaide Harriet, daughter of Rev. Thomas Schreiber, and had four sons and three daughters.

MRS. AUGUSTA ANNE STRACHAN.

Mrs. Augusta Anne Strachan was the daughter of the Hon. Sir John Beverley Robinson, Baronet, Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and granddaughter of Christopher Robinson, **U.E.L.** She was married 31st October, 1844, to James McGill Strachan, Capt. 68th Foot, eldest son of the Hon. and Rt. Rev. John Strachan, Bishop of Toronto, who died s. p. 22nd January, 1870.

ARTHUR ROWLEY.

Arthur Rowley was son of William H. Rowley, of Ottawa, Secretary and Treasurer of the E. B. Eddy Co., of Hull, Que., and Theresa Ann Grace, daughter of David Johnstone Richardson, sometime Collector of Customs at Windsor, Ontario, who was son of Dr. Robert Richardson, of the Queen's Rangers, and Anne McGregor, **U.E.L.**, third child of Gregor McGregor, first Sheriff of the District of Hesse, appointed by Lord Dorchester. David Johnstone Richardson was brother of Major John Richardson, the author of several novels and historical works relating to Canada.

CANNIFF HAIGHT.

Canniff Haight, who died June 25th, 1901, was the son of Shadrick Ricketson Haight, (son of Daniel Haight, **U.E.L.**, who settled in Adolphustown), and his wife Mary, daughter of James Canniff, **U.E.L.** He was born 4th June, 1825. Resided in Picton County of Prince Edward, and subsequently in Toronto; was a journalist, and author ("Country Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago;" "A Genealogy of the Haight family," etc.; transcribed with his own hand the MS. Reports of the Commissioners on U.E.L. claims which were lost for many years, and are now in the Congressional Library at Washington, a work in which he was engaged for some months under the direction of Mr. James Bain, Public Librarian, Toronto, and with the assistance of this Association. He married, 23rd June, 1852, Jane Casey, daughter of Isaac Ingersoll, of Fredericksburg, and granddaughter of Willet Casey, M.L.A., and had issue.

HIS HONOUR STEPHEN JAMES JONES.

His Honour Stephen James Jones, late County Judge of Brant, was born 21st December, 1821, died 7th November, 1902. He was the son of Stephen Jones, of Stony Creek, and his wife Mary Smith (of U. E. L. descent) and grandson of Stephen Jones, **U. E. L.** (whose brother Augustus Jones, **U. E. L.**, a warm personal friend of General Simcoe, was a well known surveyor of the very early days of Upper Canada, and laid out Yonge Street, and other important landmarks of this part of Upper Canada; he married the daughter of a Missisauga chief.) Judge Jones was called to the bar in 1846, and was at the age of thirty-two appointed County Judge of Brant, when that county was formed out of the Gore District. He retired from the bench in 1897. He married in 1847, Margaret, only daughter of John Williamson, J. P., of Stony Creek, and had issue, viz.: John Williamson Jones, Barrister, Hamilton; Charles Stephen Jones, Crown Lands Department, Toronto, late Lieut.-Col. Commanding 38th Dufferin Rifles; Jennie, wife of George Kerr, Barrister, Toronto; Thomas Henry Jones, City Engineer, Brantford; William David Jones, Barrister and Local Master at Brantford, who died 3rd April, 1897; and Stephen Alfred Jones, Barrister, Toronto, recently Chairman of the Board of School Trustees of Toronto.

MAJOR WILLIAM HORACE LEE.

Major William Horace Lee, born 12th February, 1844, died 19th January, 1902, was the eldest son of William Henry Lee, Clerk of the Privy Council, and his wife Harriet Louisa, daughter of the Hon. Col. Samuel Smith, **U.E.L.**, of Etobicoke, twice Administrator of the Government of Upper Canada. Major Lee was Clerk of the Privy Council, and an Officer of the Governor General's Foot Guards. He married Alice Jane, daughter of Jonathan Slater, of Chippawa, and had issue one daughter.

MRS. MARY CATHERINE MacKELLAR.

Mrs. Mary Catherine MacKellar, of Hamilton, who died 29th January, 1901, was the daughter of Grant Powell, **U. E. L.**, and his wife Elizabeth Staats, daughter of John Bleecker, of Albany, N. Y., and granddaughter of the Hon. William Dummer Powell, **U. E. L.**, Chief Justice of Upper Canada. She was twice married, firstly to Lawrence William Mercer, and secondly to the Hon. Archibald MacKellar, some time Provincial Secretary of Ontario, and subsequently Sheriff, County Wentworth, who died 11th February, 1894. She had issue of the first marriage only, viz.: Lawrence John Grant Mercer, born 1857, of New York; Annie Laurie, married to George Lount, of Barrie; Elizabeth Bleecker, married to Herbert Morton, of Hamilton.

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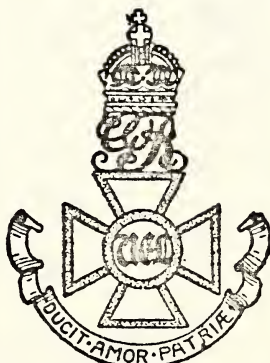
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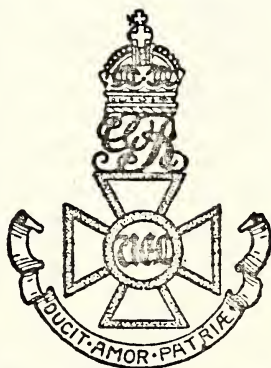
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ANNUAL
TRANSACTIONS

1903 AND 1904

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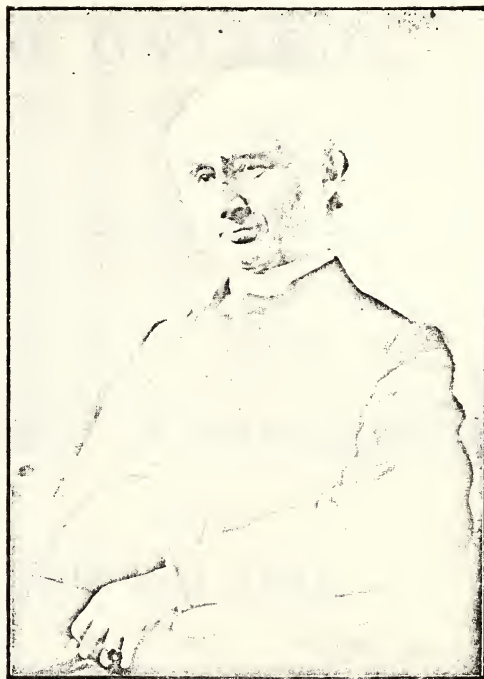


VOL

ANNUAL
TRANSACTIONS

1903 and 1904

The
United Empire Loyalists
Association



REV. C. E. THOMSON.
President of the U. E. L. Association, 1903.

The
United Empire Loyalists'
Association
OF ONTARIO.

Annual Transactions

FOR
1903 and 1904.

TORONTO:
THE IMRIE PRINTING CO., LIMITED, 31 CHURCH STREET,
1906.

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The United Empire Loyalists' Association.

"United Empire Loyalists" are "those persons who remained faithful to the British Crown during and after the revolutionary war in America," or, to be more precise, 1—"the families who adhered to the Unity of the Empire and joined the Royal Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783." [*Order in Council passed at Quebec, 9th November, 1789*].

2.—"Those who, both at and after the revolution, were, in consequence of their loyalty, driven out of the revolted States, or found continued residence in those States to be intolerable by reason of the persecutions to which they were subjected, or voluntarily withdrew therefrom in order to reside under the flag to which they desired that they and their children should remain forever loyal," and 3, "Their posterity." [*Order in Council above referred to*].

The eldest or adult members of United Empire Loyalist families who settled in Canada, for the most part passed away in the next few succeeding years after their arrival.

It was their sons mainly who preserved this country to the British Crown in the War of 1812-14.

The grandchildren of the original U. E. Loyalists are becoming fewer in number year by year. The fourth generation are the men and women of the present day.

The descendants of the U. E. Loyalists are now widely dispersed; some are building up new provinces in what but a few years ago was the illimitable wilderness of the North-West, whilst others are scattered throughout the world.

Some few (a very few, it is to be feared), still retain the original homestead granted by the Crown to their forefathers.

But few records of the first U. E. Loyalists, their previous homes and histories, their individual experiences, and the circum-

stances attending their settlement in Canada, having been preserved by their families, so far as is known, such things being gradually dispersed and lost in various ways, it was felt that unless some systematic effort was made to gather together the fragments which might yet be found, every trace of them would in time be lost, excepting such as are fortunately preserved in the public archives—and which are for the most part meagre and inadequate fitly to represent and illustrate the inner life, if such an expression may be used, of the U. E. Loyalist emigration as an historical event without precedent or parallel.

With the object, therefore, of organizing the means of preserving such historic records, with also that of keeping bright the spirit of loyalty in the inheritors of so noble an ancestry, the formation of this association was resolved upon, and the initial steps toward that end were taken at a meeting called by Mr. William Hamilton Merritt and others, and held in the Canadian Institute, February 28th, 1896.

Mr. Allan McLean Howard was appointed Chairman, and Mr. Merritt, Secretary *pro tem*.

The following Committee was also appointed to draft a Constitution :

Mr. McLean Howard, Mr. Merritt, Mrs. Hicks, Miss Merritt, Mr. S. C. Biggs, Mr. H. H. Cook, Lt.-Col. George A. Shaw, Mr. Charles E. Ryerson, and Dr. George S. Ryerson, and thus was formed "The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario," the first general meeting of which was held at the same place May 11th, 1896. The Honourable John Beverley Robinson was unanimously elected President, and Mr. William Hamilton Merritt, Secretary. Much was expected from Mr. Robinson in this position, because of the prominence of his official and social position, his long experience of public life, and because he was known to be well versed in matters appertaining to the early history of this country, and took a keen interest in everything connected therewith. But it was otherwise ordered, and under circumstances of an almost tragic nature, whilst preparing to speak at a great public meeting, Mr. Robinson died, June 19th, 1896. In him the Association lost an unselfish and patriotic friend, and an eminent President. Dr. George Sterling Ryerson was elected President in his place, and continued in office until March, 1898, when he was succeeded by Mr. Herman Henry Cook who has held the office to the present time

An interesting circumstance connected with the formation of the Association and the election of its officers is worthy of special mention. It was ascertained that at this late date, one hundred and thirteen years after the close of the revolutionary war, there still survived several sons and daughters of U. E. Loyalists who served in that war. It was felt that the Association would be honouring itself by appropriately recognizing these men and women, and they were accordingly elected honorary vice-presidents of the Association.

A branch of the U. E. Loyalists' Association was formed at Virgil, of which Capt. John D. Servos is the President.

It has been decided that the Six Nation Indians of the Grand River and Tyendinaga (Bay of Quinte) Reserves, whose migration to Canada was under the same circumstances, and simultaneous with that of the U. E. Loyalists, should be considered as branch associations. Chief Jacob Salem Johnson, Kahnnonkwenyah, of the former, and Chief Samson Green, Annosothkah, of the latter, have been elected honorary vice-presidents as representatives in each case of such branches, and presented by the general association with commemorative silver medals to be worn by them and their successors in office.

The Association is not only non-political, as its constitution declares, but it is also wholly untrammelled by social considerations, and differs from the principal hereditary or historical associations elsewhere, in that it makes no requirement of social status as a condition of membership.

The constitution and by-laws as now printed, embracing certain further amendments since made were revised in April, 1897, by a special committee consisting of the President, Dr. Ryerson; the Vice-President, Mr. Allan McLean Howard; the Secretary, Mr. William Hamilton Merritt; the Honorary Legal Adviser, Mr. E. M. Chadwick; the Executive Committee; Messrs. H. H. Cook, Stephen M. Jarvis, Eugene A. MacLaurin, Charles E. Ryerson, Lt. Col. Shaw, the Rev. W. S. Ball, the Rev. C. E. Thomson, and Mr. William Roaf.

The Order in Council above referred to is as follows :—

Whereas it is recorded that at the Council Chamber at Quebec on Monday, 9th November, 1789, His Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Dorchester intimated to the Council that it was his wish to put a mark of honour upon the families who had adhered to the unity of the Empire, and joined the Royal

Standard in America before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783, the Council concurring with His Lordship, it is accordingly ordered, "That the several Land Boards take course for preserving a registry of the names of all persons falling under the description aforementioned, to the end that their posterity may be discriminated from the future settlers, in the parish registers and rolls of the militia of their respective districts and other public remembrances of the Provinces, as proper objects, by their persevering in the fidelity and conduct so honourable in their ancestors, for distinguished benefits and privileges."

Constitution and By-Laws.

Name and Chief Seat.

I. The organization shall be known as the "United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario," hereinafter referred to as the General Association, and its chief seat shall be at Toronto.

Branches.

II. Branches of the Association may be established at any place in the Province of Ontario, where, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, it is deemed advisable, and the President of such branch shall be *ex-officio* a Vice-President of the General Association.

The Officers of a branch shall be a President, Secretary-Treasurer and Executive Committee of five members, provided that branches may also choose an Honourary President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Assistant Secretary, an Executive Committee of six members, and a Ladies' Committee of not more than twelve. The presiding officer of the Ladies' Committee may also be a member of the Executive Committee.

Such sections of the Constitution as may be applicable to branches shall have full force and virtue therein. Branches may make By-Laws not inconsistent with this Constitution.

Members of such branches shall be entitled to the same privileges as Associate Members of the General Association.

Objects.

III. The objects of the Association shall be :—

(a) To unite together, irrespective of creed or political party, the descendants of those families who, during the American Revolutionary War of 1775 to 1783, sacrificed their homes in retaining their loyalty to the British Crown ; and to perpetuate this spirit of loyalty to the Empire.

(b) To preserve the history and traditions of that important epoch in Canadian history, by rescuing from oblivion the history and traditions of the Loyalist families before it is too late.

(c) To collect together in a suitable place the portraits, relics, and documents relating to the United Empire Loyalists, which are now scattered throughout the Dominion.

(d) To publish an historical and genealogical journal, or annual transactions.

Qualification of Members.

IV. All persons of either sex resident in Ontario, or in any province or elsewhere where there is no United Empire Loyalist Association, who can trace their lineal descent, by either male or female line, from United Empire Loyalists, shall be eligible for ordinary membership, provided they be persons of good repute and be considered by the Association desirable persons to be admitted to membership. The wives or husbands of ordinary members, who are not otherwise qualified for membership, may be elected Associate members, but are not entitled to vote. Members under the age of 17 are not entitled to vote. Charter members shall be those members who joined prior to and including the regular meeting in April, 1897. They shall have the letter "C" placed after their names on the roll of members.

Members of branches become *ipso facto* Associate Members of the General Association, but will not be entitled to notice of meetings. They may become Ordinary Members on payment of fifty cents to the General Association, after their application has been approved of by the Investigating Committee.

RULINGS UPON ARTICLE IV.

I. No person coming to Canada from the United States after the year 1796, shall be considered as a U. E. Loyalist ancestor, unless it can be clearly demonstrated that he or she was entitled to be so considered.

II. The descendants of an officer or soldier belonging to the British Army, stationed in the United States before the breaking out of the War of 1776, who after the War came to Canada in the U. E. Loyalist immigration, and there settled, are eligible for membership.

III. The descendants of an officer or soldier belonging to the British Army who was sent to the United States after the breaking out of the War of 1776, and who came to Canada in the U. E. Loyalist immigration, are eligible for membership.

Election of Members.

V. (a) Application for membership in this Association must be made according to the prescribed form, be signed by the applicant, be recommended by two members, and be accompanied by

the annual fee (which shall be returned if the application is withdrawn or the candidate be not elected). This application shall be read to the Association at a regular meeting and be referred to the Investigating Committee, which shall report at a subsequent regular meeting. The fact of such application shall be stated by the Secretary in the call for the next regular meeting.

(b) If the Investigating Committee are satisfied of the qualifications of the candidate in all respects, and their decision is unanimous, the same shall be reported at the next or any subsequent regular meeting of the Association, whereupon the candidate shall be declared elected, unless a ballot is called for, which demand may be to the Secretary without signature.

(c) If the Investigating Committee are not satisfied with the evidence of qualification of the member by descent, they shall notify the proposer of such candidate, and request him to furnish further evidence, and the application shall stand in abeyance until the same is furnished to the satisfaction of the Committee. If the Committee or any one member thereof shall be of the opinion that the candidate does not possess the proper qualifications of good repute and of desirability for admission to membership, the Committee shall report the case to the Executive Committee, who, after consulting with the Investigating Committee, shall decide whether to request the proposer to withdraw the name of the candidate or to proceed with the application, and in the latter case the election shall be by ballot.

(d) If a ballot be taken the chairman of the meeting, the acting Secretary and the Senior Lady present of the Executive Committee shall act as scrutineers. Paper ballots shall be provided, on which the voters shall write "yes" or "no" and deposit the same in the ballot box or other receptacle provided. One negative in five shall exclude.

(e) Any person well and publicly known, being or having been the holder of any public office or position, and being of good repute in all respects, may be elected a member without the usual formalities by the unanimous consent thereto and to the suspension of Rules for that purpose by the members of the Association present at any meeting, provided there be not less than twenty-five members then present.

(f) The Association shall have power by the vote (by ballot) of three-fourths present at a special meeting called for the purpose to expel any member for cause shewn. Provided that he or

she shall previously have been notified of any complaint made or reason advanced rendering the continuance of his or her membership undesirable and shall have been (by the Executive Committee) afforded reasonable opportunity of explanation or refutation of the charge made or reason alleged.

Fees.

VI. The annual membership and the associate membership fee shall be one dollar. A family—viz., husband, wife and children residing at home—shall pay two dollars per annum; non-resident membership fee, fifty cents, payable in advance.

The annual fees shall be due on the second Thursday in March in each year.

Any member or associate member being one year in arrear may be struck off the list of members by the Executive Committee.

No member shall be entitled to vote at election of officers who is more than one year in arrear for dues.

Any person eligible may become a life member by paying the sum of \$15, and shall be exempt from further payments.

Officers.

VII. The office-bearers shall consist of a President, five Vice-Presidents, one of whom shall be a lady elected by the Ladies' Committee as their presiding officer, and the Presidents of Branches, who are *ex-officio* Vice-Presidents, Secretary-Treasurer, and Assistant Secretary, who may be a lady.

Honourary Vice-Presidents and Members.

VIII. (a) All sons and daughters of United Empire Loyalists now living shall be Honourary Vice-Presidents of the Association.

(b) Distinguished men and women, descendants of United Empire Loyalists, non-resident in the Province, may be elected by a majority of those present at a meeting, as Honourary Vice-Presidents; such Vice-Presidents shall not be liable for the annual fee.

(c) Members of the Association, gentlemen or ladies, who, in the opinion of a two-thirds majority of the meeting, have rendered distinguished service to the Association may be elected Honourary Members.

The name of such member or Honourary Vice-President must be proposed and seconded at a regular meeting at least four weeks before the date of election.

The Executive Committee

IX. Shall consist of ten members, three of whom shall be ladies to be elected at the annual meeting, five of whom shall form a quorum, and shall manage the affairs of the Association. The President and Vice-Presidents (actual and *ex-officio*) and Secretary-Treasurer shall be *ex-officio* members of this committee.

The two members of this Executive Committee and the four members of the Ladies' Committee whose names appear first (right and left) in the list shall retire annually, but shall be eligible for re-election at the next following meeting.

The Investigating Committee

X. Shall consist of five members, two of whom shall be ladies and three of whom shall form a quorum.

The Publishing Committee

XI. Shall consist of four members, one of whom shall be the Assistant-Secretary, who will act as the Secretary of the committee.

The Ladies' Committee

XII. Shall consist of twelve members, five of whom shall form a quorum. They shall arrange all matters submitted to them by the Association or by the Executive Committee, to whom they shall respectively report.

Election of Officers and Committees.

XIII. All officers and Standing Committees of the Association shall be elected at the annual meeting, or as soon thereafter as conveniently may be, if for any reason such election cannot take place at the annual meeting. And such officers and Committees shall hold office until the next annual meeting, or until their successors are elected; vacancies occurring during the year may be filled by election as may be required. Special Committees may be appointed at any regular or special general meeting. Where it is not otherwise stated the officers and members of Committees shall be gentlemen.

The Past President shall be an *ex-officio* member of the Executive Committee, and the Past Lady Vice-President shall be an *ex-officio* member of the Ladies' Committee for one year after they cease to hold their offices.

Nominations for all offices and the Standing Committees of the Association shall be made one month prior to the annual meeting. All officers and Standing Committees of the Association shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting, but where only one name for any office, or only the required number to compose any Standing Committee, have been placed in nomination, a ballot shall not be taken, but the person or persons so nominated shall be declared duly elected.

The President may be re-elected for one additional term, but he cannot retain office for more than two years in succession.

Duties of Officers.

XIV. The President shall be chairman of all meetings at which he shall be present, and in his absence one of the Vice-Presidents shall take the chair.

In the absence of the Vice-Presidents, the members present shall elect a chairman for the meeting.

XV. The Secretary-Treasurer shall hold in trust the funds of the Association, which shall be deposited in the name of the Association in a bank approved by the Committee. He shall receive all moneys, pay all accounts that are properly certified as correct, and shall present, when required, from time to time a statement of accounts.

XVI. The Secretary-Treasurer or the Assistant Secretary shall attend all meetings, shall take the minutes of the proceedings, shall be responsible for the safe custody of all papers, books, and other property, and under the direction of the Executive Committee shall conduct the general business of the Association.

Meetings.

XVII. The annual general meeting for the election of office-bearers, and the transaction of the business of the Association, shall be held in the city of Toronto, on the date of the regular meeting in March in each year.

The regular meetings other than the May and October meetings shall be held on the second Thursday in every month, except during such summer months as may be thought desirable not to meet by the members present at the regular meeting in May. The May meeting shall be held on May 18th, the anniversary of the landing of the Loyalists at St. John, N.B., in 1784, and the October meeting on October 13th, the anniversary of the Battle of Queenston Heights.

Should these anniversaries occur on Sunday, the meeting will be held on the following day.

Meetings may be held at such an hour and place as the Executive Committee appoints, of which due notice shall be sent to every member.

XVIII. General meetings other than the regular monthly meetings may be called for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the transaction of business.

The business or subject for discussion shall be specified in the special notice convening such a meeting which shall be sent to every member. Such a special meeting may be called at any time by the President, or in his absence by the Executive Committee.

XIX. Extraordinary or urgent business may be transacted at any meeting without special notice, when considered absolutely necessary by a three-fourths majority of those present.

XX. At all general meetings, whether special or annual, fifteen members shall form a quorum.

Papers.

XXI. Papers on subjects relating to the objects of the Association, and to cognate subjects, may be read by members, or by others who may be requested to do so, at any regular meeting or any special meeting called for this purpose.

Papers shall not exceed twenty minutes in length, but the time for reading may be extended by vote of the members.

All papers read shall become the property of the Association

Order of Business.

- XXII. 1. Reading of Minutes.
 2. Reading of Correspondence.
 3. Passing of Accounts.
 4. Propositions for Membership.
 5. Reports of Committees.
 6. Election to Membership.
 7. Notices of Motion.
 8. General Business.
 9. Election of Officers.
 10. Reading of Papers.

Amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws.

XXIII. The foregoing Constitution and By-Laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any meeting, but notice of motion for such amendment must be given at least four weeks previous to the discussion of the same, of which notice the Secretary shall duly inform every member.

ANNUAL REPORT.

MARCH, 1902—MARCH, 1903.

This Association, now in the seventh year since its formation in 1896, has progressed in a most satisfactory manner.

During the year 44 Members have been elected, making a total of 518 Members, an Honourary Member, Mr. H. H. Robertson, in recognition of his services in organizing the Head-of-the-Lake Branch, Hamilton, and an Honourary Chaplain, Rev. R. S. Forneri, in appreciation of his valuable work in connection with the U. E. Loyalist Memorial Church at Adolphustown.

The Association has sustained the loss by death of two Honourary Vice-Presidents, Mr. Clark Gamble, of Toronto, and Mrs. Seymour, of Ottawa; of an Honourary Member, Sir John Bourinot, of Ottawa; of His Honour Judge Jones, of Brantford; of Mr. Stephen M. Jarvis, Mrs. J. K. Macdonald and Mrs. Brough, of Toronto.

The success of the Head-of-the-Lake Branch, Hamilton, has been clearly demonstrated in the first annual report of the Branch, which has a membership of 59, exclusive of Associate Members. The meetings are held on the second Tuesday in every month and many interesting papers have been read. The Assistant Secretary of this Association, was present at the April, June and December meetings and at the latter, had the honour of reading a paper by Mr. T. S. Arnold, which has been read before this Association.

A communication has been received from Mr. H. C. Stevens, Winnipeg, expressing the intention of a number of descendants of U. E. Loyalists, of forming an organization there on similar lines to those of our own.

In accordance with the custom of this Association, a "Loyalist" tree was planted in the Queen's Park on May 21st. This interesting ceremony was attended by a large number of members; and representatives of the York Pioneers, the Veterans Association, the Boys' Brigade, the Boys of St. Albans' School, the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire and others.

On June 16th a most enjoyable garden party was given by Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Cook, in commemoration of the landing of the Loyalists at Adolphustown on that date in 1784.

At the invitation of the Army and Navy Veterans, the members of the Association were present at the unveiling of a Monument erected in the Portland Street Park to the men who fell in the War of 1812-1815.

A resolution was passed by the Association, endorsing the platform of the Canadian Preference League, in which it is stated that it is desirable to give preference to articles of Canadian manufacture, when the quality is equal and the cost not in excess of that of similar foreign products or manufactured articles, and also to give preference to Canadian labour and to this country's educational and financial institutions.

A valuable addition to the collection of books has been made by the donation of Richardson's War of 1812, by the editor Mr. A. C. Casselman, and a Memoir on the "Settlement of the U. E. Loyalists in the Province of Quebec and elsewhere" by Sir James Lemoine; and by the purchase of four vols., "Sabine's Loyalists," and Ryerson's "Loyalists of the American Revolution."

The Annual Transactions for the past three years, are now in the hands of the publishers, and will be ready for distribution in a few days.

The following papers have been read during the year.

March 13th.—"The late Parker Allen of Adolphustown,"

Rev. C. E. Thomson.

April 10th.—"The Loyalists of the American Revolution,"
Quarterly Review.

May 19th.—Address, "Did our U. E. Loyalist Ancestors make a mistake in coming to Canada?"

T S. Arnold.

October 13th.—"Burgoyne's Fighting Loyalists and the Battle of Bennington," (*illustrated by limelight views*).

H. H. Robertson.

November 13th.—"Extracts from Journals of the U. E. Loyalist Powell family."

Mrs. Stephen Jarvis.

December 11th.—"A Short Account of a Long Walk,"

David Kemp.

January 8th.—“The Influence of the U. E. Loyalists in the development of the Canadian Commonwealth,”

A. B. Sherk.

February 13th.—“The Romance of Canadian History,”

Frank Yeigh.

Respectfully submitted.

NINA M. CLARKSON,

March, 1903.

Hon. Assistant Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT.

MARCH, 1903—MARCH, 1904.

We have the honour to report to you that the Association during the seventh year of its existence, has made steady progress in that time and we now have reached a Membership roll of 532 Members. We record with profound regret the loss of our esteemed President, Rev. C. E. Thomson. For his constant and faithful services rendered since the formation of the Association, we are deeply indebted; and the loss of such an earnest and valuable member is one not easily to be replaced.

We also regret to report the loss by death of four of our Hon. Vice-Presidents, Mr. Grant Powell, of Ottawa; Mr. Alexander Macdonell, and Mr. Nehemiah Merritt, of Toronto and Mrs. J. G. Ball, of Merritton; all sons and daughters of original U. E. Loyalists; also of Mr. Alexander Lee Ireland, a charter member, and of Mr. Samuel Smith McDonell.

During the year eight regular Monthly Meetings, seven Committee Meetings and one Special Meeting of the Women Members of the Association have been held.

On May 18th, following the custom adopted by the Association, a “Loyalist” tree was planted in the Queen’s Park. Their Excellencies the Governor-General and the Countess of Minto graciously honoured the Association with their presence, His Excellency performing the ceremony of planting the tree.

In August a rumour having been circulated to the effect that a Monument was to be erected to the memory of General George

Washington in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, a cablegram was sent to the Archdeacon of London, followed by a resolution, expressing the conviction that the erection of a monument to General Washington would be a grave insult to Canadians. The other Loyalist Societies were communicated with in regard to their action in the matter. A reply was received from the Venerable Archdeacon Sinclair, stating that there was little foundation for the report.

In October a resolution was passed declaring that in the opinion of the Association, Canada should bear a reasonable share of the cost of defending the Empire, copies of which were sent to the Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain, the Right Hon. Sir Wilfred Laurier, Mr. R. L. Borden, and the U. E. Loyalist Societies in the other Provinces of Canada, and their branches.

A very encouraging report has been received from the Head-of-the-Lake Branch, Hamilton, showing a year of rapid growth, with a roll of 72 Members, exclusive of Associate Members, and a list of many valuable papers read at the meetings.

The St. Catharines Branch also reports progress and meetings held quarterly.

The fourth volume of the Annual Transactions was issued to the members in June, and copies were sent by request to the Royal Colonial Institute, London, England, the Library in Melbourne, S. A., and many of the Universities and Libraries in Canada, also to the University at Princeton, New Jersey, and the Library of Congress, Washington.

At the meetings during the year the following addresses and papers have been given :

March 10th.—Paper : " The Recovery of the Marriage Register of the first Missionary to the Gore District," Rev. Ralph Leeming,

H. H. Robertson.

April 16th.—Address : " Early Days of the Province,"
C. C. James, M.A.

November 12th.—Address : " Canada's Losses of Territory since 1782,"

Thomas Hodgins, M.A.

December 11th.—Address : " The Last Great Siege of Quebec,"
T. G. Marquis.

January 14th.—“Clan Shaw in Canada,”

Alexander Fraser.

February 11.—“The Past and Present of the Six Nations Indians,”

His Honour Judge Snider.

Respectfully submitted.

NINA M. CLARKSON,

March, 1904.

Hon. Assistant Secretary.

HEAD-OF-THE-LAKE BRANCH

ANNUAL REPORT.

FEBRUARY - 1902—1903.

Your Committee report that the progress of the branch of the U. E. L. A. of Ontario has been gratifying, the total membership of the branch including families now being fifty-nine, exclusive of associate members. Changes have been made in the constitution of the General Association in the past year as follows:—Amendment to Article II. of the Constitution to add after the word “Members” “Provided that branches may also choose an Honourary President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and an Assistant Secretary, an Executive Committee of not more than six members, and a Ladies’ Committee of not more than twelve. The Presiding Officer of the Ladies’ Committee may also be a member of the Executive Committee.” “Also that no person coming to Canada from the United States after the year 1796, shall be considered as a U. E. Loyalist ancestor unless it can be clearly demonstrated that he or she was entitled to be so considered.”

A form of opening and closing meetings, and reception of members has also been adopted by the Association, all of which will be set forth in the forthcoming number of the Transactions now in the press.

The officers elected at the first meeting have remained for the year.

During the year addresses have been delivered as follows:—

On March 11th, by the President, “Reminiscences of the War of 1812.”

On April 8th, by the Secretary, "The Narrative of John Peters."

On May 13th, by Mrs. Powell, "Extracts from a Diary, descriptive of a Canoe Trip from Montreal to Detroit in 1783."

On June 13th, by the Secretary, "Burgoyne's Campaign and Loyal Americans." (*Illustrated by limelight views.*)

On December 9th, Miss N. M. Clarkson, Honourary Secretary, read a paper by T. S. Arnold, entitled, "The Battle of the Thames and the Death of Tecumseh."

On January 14th, 1903, by J. H. Smith, "History of Hamilton."

It is the desire of your Committee that every member of the Association should furnish a paper in furtherance of its objects, "to preserve the history and traditions of the Loyalist families before it is too late." This can be done by every member contributing the narrative of his or her U. E. Loyalist ancestor, and it is to be hoped that the ensuing year will see additional contributions in this direction.

A list of members together with the financial statement for the year is appended hereto.

Early in the year a complete set of the Transactions of the Association was donated to the Hamilton Public Library, and through the instrumentality of the Association, copies of "The Settlement of Upper Canada," by Dr. Caniff; "The History of the County of Dundas," by Croil, and of "Lunenburgh" or "The Eastern District," by the late Judge Pringle, of Cornwall. all dedicated to the descendants of the U. E. Loyalists, were obtained and placed in the Hamilton Public Library.

The importance of maintaining the Historical branch of the Museum begun at Dundurn, is impressed upon the members of the Association—and if an amalgamation of the various small collections could be made at this central point, a really good Museum would result. Steps should be taken to bring this about, and the good-will of the Parks Committee of the City obtained to that end.

For the Committee.

H. H. ROBERTSON,

Hon. Secretary

Hamilton,

February 10th, 1903.

ANNUAL REPORT.

FEBRUARY, 1903-1904.

It was the melancholy duty of the Society to record the death on the 15th of November last at Toronto, of the President of the General Association, the Rev. C. E. Thomson and to transmit a memorial of condolence. Mr. E. A. Maclaurin is now acting President of the Association. Our branch also regrets the removal by death, in December last, of Mr. Samuel Davis, one of its members. Mr. Davis was the son of Jonathan Davis, U.E.L., and grandson of William Davis, U.E.L., of North Carolina, who, with his two sons, Jonathan and Asahel, came to Upper Canada at the close of the Revolutionary War. Elizabeth, a daughter of William Davis, married Thomas Ghent, of Franklin County, North Carolina. Mr. Samuel Davis, as the son of an original U. E. Loyalist, was entitled to rank an Honourary Vice-President of our General Association. His retiring disposition precluded his accepting the title, and although he was unable to attend our meetings he always evinced a keen interest in them.

The work for the past year has been very satisfactory. The officers appointed for the year have remained. Six meetings, at which papers were read, have been held and two committee meetings.

Early in the year the Secretary, while investigating the genealogy of the Hatt family, found in the possession of Mr. John T. Hatt, of Buffalo, a legatee under the will of the late Rev. Ralph Leeming, the first missionary to the Gore District in 1816, a register of marriages and baptisms in which he officiated during his ministry from 1816 to 1827. The document was long given up. Mr. Hatt consented to the delivery of it to the Lord Bishop of the Diocese of Niagara, and the original register was accordingly presented to him, 800 copies having first been published and distributed by this Association.

The annual meeting of the Provincial Historical Society held at St. Thomas in June, was attended by the Secretary as a delegate from this Association.

The attention of members and others is called to the recent appointment of a Provincial Archivist. The objects of his department are similar to all societies such as ours, in the preservation and collection of documents of historical interest. The

archivist, Alexander Fraser of Toronto, asks your co-operation through his correspondent, Mr. H. H. Robertson.

The publication of the Transactions of the General Association delivered to members of our Branch, afforded satisfaction.

The list of members is hereto appended showing a membership of 72, exclusive of Associate members. The financial statement, duly audited, is also appended, showing a balance on hand of \$11.46.

The following papers have been read on the dates mentioned :
1903.

March 10th.—“The recovery of the Marriage Register of the first Missionary to the Gore District, Rev. Ralph Leeming,” by H. H. Robertson.

May 12th.—“The Work of the Lundy’s Lane Historical Society,” by Rev. Canon Bull.

June 9th.—“The Capture of Fort Niagara, and the Retaliatory Campaign of 1813,” by Mrs. P. D. Crerar.

October 13th.—“Anniversary of the Battle of Queenston Heights,” an abridgement of Col. Cruikshanks’ description, read by the Secretary.

December 10th.—“Britain’s Command of the Sea and what it means to Canada,” by H. J. Wickham, Hon. Secretary Navy League, Toronto Branch.

1904.

January 12th.—“The Past and Present of the Six Nations Indians,” by the President, Judge Snider.

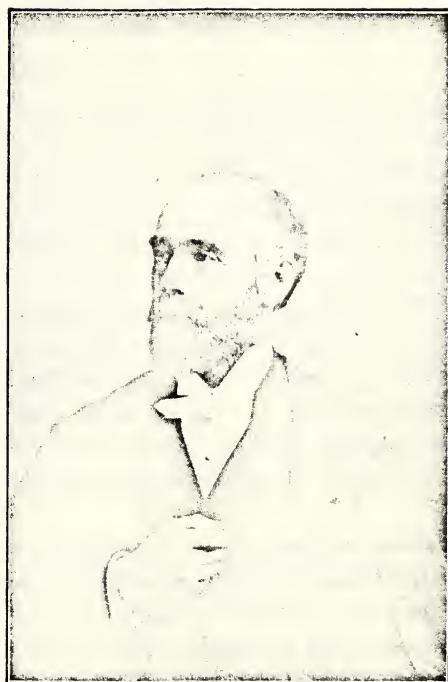
A Joint Committee from the Historical Societies was courteously received by the Chairman of the Parks Board, with a view of improving the educational value of the Museum at Dundurn, and now waits to be convened together with a sub-committee of the Parks Board.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

H. H. ROBERTSON,

Hon. Secretary.

February 10th, 1904.



HIS HONOUR JUDGE SNIDER.

Historical and Biographical Sketches.

The Past and Present of the Six Nation Indians.

Paper read before United Empire Loyalist Association at Hamilton, by His Honour Colin G. Snider, Esquire, Judge of the County of Wentworth, January 12th, 1904.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

Ever since you honoured me with the position of president of the Head of the Lake Branch of the United Empire Loyalist Association, I have felt it my duty to show my great appreciation of your kindness by endeavoring to contribute something to the programme of at least one of our meetings. I fear I shall not be able to say anything very new or instructive. I had decided not to attempt anything so ambitious as a formal paper, but thought I would content myself with making a little speech. However, our worthy Secretary has insisted that I must commit to writing and read to you what I may have to say. I have yielded to his irresistible demands and I am trying by these opening remarks to load on his shoulders the responsibility if I fail to interest you.

I have chosen as my subject the Six Nation Indians who were to my mind, the most inexplicable of all the self-sacrificing United Empire Loyalists. I say inexplicable because it seems hard to understand why they should have given up their homes in the beautiful valleys and mountains of the central and northern States to suffer with their wives and children terrible hardships, to starve and fight and die for England and England's King. They might have remained spectators of the white man's war. They were the grandest of the red men ; their chiefs were kings and princes. They had such homes and surroundings as they most appreciated, and lived as in their pagan semi-savage state they loved to live. And yet they cast their lot in with the British and remained loyal even when the cause was lost. Many deeds of valour and heroism, many grand instances of undaunted

courage, are recorded of them in the battles they fought. Wherever soldiers of the King engaged the rebels, there were these red men, silent as night, swift as their own arrows, and terrible as death itself, fighting to the last in aid of and beside our grandfathers. The ancestors through whom we trace our right to be members of this association, knew them well, stood side by side with these red men, shared their hardships and many of them at times owed their lives to the timely and sudden appearance of these savage braves. It is of these men then and their descendants, their past and their present that I would speak to you to-night. And in order that you may know the source of my knowledge of much that I may say I must ask you to pardon me for speaking for a moment of my own early life.

The country of the Six Nations reserve lies near my birth-place and where I spent my days of childhood and youth. That country at the time of my earliest recollections was an immense forest. A very few scattered settlers were there. On two sides of our house fifteen miles of unbroken forest lay between us and our next neighbor. This country was full of streams filled with trout, and along their course plenty of mink, some otter and other fur-bearing animals. The forest was well stocked with deer and small game and occasionally a black bear or timber wolf was seen. Over this country individual members of the Six Nation Indians hunted and trapped. An Indian would set up his wigwam in a convenient place for a few weeks' hunting or trapping and to it bring his family. I have, when a lad, hunted with them. I learned their way of making wooden traps and bark snares and by such contrivances I caught many mink and quantities of small game. I have often played with them and against them at their game of lacrosse. Professionally I have had a good deal to do with them and have on different occasions had my dinner at Indian houses on the Reserve when there on business. One of my junior law partners, Col. Cameron, of Brantford, is now the superintendent of the Six Nations. It is from the knowledge gained from these experiences that I will speak of the Six Nation Indians of this generation.

Let me ask you to appreciate the fact that they are true United Empire Loyalists. It is for this cause and this cause alone that they are to-day in Canada. It should therefore be possible for me if I can only call to my assistance adequate words, to arouse in you or in any assembly of the descendants of

United Empire Loyalists feelings of kindly interest and true sympathy with these people.

I will give you first a brief outline of the early history of these people. The dominant band was the Mohawk tribe. Indian tradition places their earliest home in the territory near where Montreal now stands, before the white man came. They were dominated by the powerful and warlike Algonquin nation. In the course of time the Iroquois or Mohawks revolted against this domination and were driven from their homes. They migrated southward and westward dividing into bands under different names. They had learned well the arts of Indian warfare from their conquerors and in their new homes they multiplied and prospered greatly. They became five distinct nations, the Mohawks, the Senecas, the Oneidas, the Cayugas and the Onondagos. In A.D. 1458 these Nations entered into a confederacy combining and consolidating all their resources and became the "Five Nations," and by various wars they became the dominant power from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic Ocean and from what are now the Southern States to Ontario.

They were continually at war and as they conquered smaller tribes they adopted them into one or other of the branches of the confederacy. At last they fell upon and conquered their old tyrannical masters, the Hurons.

There was a tribe of Indians whose home was in North Carolina, the Tuscaroras. They were defeated in wars with other southern tribes and driven from their homes. They sought and received the protection of the "Five Nations." Lands were allotted them, and in 1715 they joined in this confederacy which then took the name of the "Six Nations."

The chief events of their history were preserved by tradition, handed down from generation to generation. Each Chief knew the oral record by heart, and could, and on certain public occasions did, repeat it. They had also wampum records, consisting of long strips or belts of skins, on which are hieroglyphic records in shells or beads.

The affairs of this confederacy were managed by a Council of Chiefs, in a sense hereditary, having of course a supreme, or head Chief, or King, as one may choose to call him. The manner of holding their Council meeting is much the same to-day as it was then, and I will later describe to you a Council meeting of the present day.

Sometimes at peace, more often at war, these people lived rulers of the magnificent country I have mentioned, masters of the arts of woodcraft, and the chase, kindest of the kind among themselves, deadliest and most bitter to their foes, not unskilled in statesmanship as their confederacy proves, believers in a Great Spirit, Ruler of all, whom in their own way they worshipped, and thoroughly moral as they understood morality. Drink and debasement came with the white man, but corrupted only the weaker among them, by no means all of them. The white men, with whom the Six Nations had sometimes fought, and made treaties, and with whom they lived in peace in 1774, were the British. In this year they saw many of the Colonists rebel against their Sovereign, and take up arms against the British and their loyal fellow colonists. Their great chief then was Thayendanegea, or Joseph Brant. Splendid specimen of a man, both physically and mentally, as he was, he was surrounded by hundreds of braves wholly his equal in every way, barring only position and opportunity.

And now had come the time when the Six Nations had to decide whether or not they should take part in this war, and on which side they should fight if they entered the contest.

Both sides sought their aid. Active agents from the rebels, as well as from the British, went among them, trying to secure them. It was recognised that they would be of great value, whichever cause they might espouse. Five of the nations determined to espouse the British cause, but the sixth the Oneidas, held aloof. From the very first outbreak the Mohawks declared themselves "Loyalist." I do not intend to weary you with any attempt at a narration of the events of the war, its successes and failures, the misery and suffering of our ancestors at that critical time, the battles won or lost, because all these things are so well known to you all. The Six Nations figure prominently through it all, but this you also know, and you are equally familiar with the recorded deeds of heroism and suffering which fell to their lot. I will merely sketch, in outline, so much thereof, as is necessary to carry home to your minds, the fact that these people were great warriors, firm allies, truest friends, and were United Empire Loyalists. As such their descendants now living on the Grand River, in our own province, and very near us, have no ordinary claim on our good will, our kindly feelings. If I fail to arouse in you a greater appreciation of them and a

keener interest in their welfare than you have heretofore felt, it will be due to my inability to present the facts properly, and not to weakness of their claim.

The shortest and clearest way that I can state that period of their history covering the American Revolution will be by following the steps in a general way of Thayandanegea. Some of you may not have heard a description of this man as he then appeared. When the Revolution broke out, he was thirty-three years old. He could speak some English and could read it. I have seen two descriptions of his personal appearance. One by an officer of the Revolutionary Army who was a prisoner in Thayandanegea's hands. This man describes him as "A likely fellow of fierce aspect, tall and rather spare, well spoken. He wears moccasins elegantly trimmed with beads, fine blue cloth leggings, a short blue coat with epaulets, and a small laced round hat. By his side hung an elegant silver-mounted cutlass, and his blanket, of blue cloth, was gorgeously decorated with a border of red." This man was at that time head of the Indians. Through him they announced their intention of joining the Loyalists and under him as their military leader they organized and prepared for war. With his bands of warriors he joined the British forces. At the time the Loyalists took the field, the Six Nations' army under Thayandanegea formed the larger part of the British forces. As you know however they were driven out by the Revolutionists. Every one was not with the Loyalists. With 250 of his warriors as a guard he accompanied Sir John Johnson to Montreal to seek reinforcements from British regular soldiers, but as they could get none, he accompanied Johnson to England to lay their desperate need of soldiers before the Crown. On 29th July, 1776, they landed at New York on their way back. Thayandanegea went on to his own people to see whether or not they were still true to the British cause, and he found them willing to a man, excepting the Oneidas, to join Gen. Howe's forces. The war drifted on, these Indians fighting in many battles, until at the end of the summer campaign of 1779, which had proved disastrous to them, they were forced to seek shelter from the enemy under the protecting guns of Fort Niagara.

Here huddled in disorder with their families, far from their sheltering homes, under temporary shelters, poorly provided against the cold and storm, and with little to eat, they put in that terrible severe winter of 1779-80. Snow fell to a depth

never heard of before. From exposure, destitution and starvation, they died in great numbers. It was for them a winter full of terror and mourning. Through it all, and after it all, when the spring came, the same loyalty to England's cause, the same determination to stand by our ancestors, collected there also in great poverty and distress, remained undimmed in the breasts of those of our Indian allies who survived. I need not repeat to you how they joined Col. John Butler, and in the spring of 1780 with the Rangers forced their way back into their old country. They fought and won several engagements, and returned victors for the time being, with much spoil to their families at Niagara, or rather where Lewiston now stands. In the spring of 1781 there were at that point 60 British regulars, 400 white Loyalists, under Butler, and 1200 Indians. They fought on with varying fortunes, but without recovering their homes. In 1783 a general peace was announced, and the Six Nations would not remain under the Revolutionary Government, but came to Canada. Through Thayandanegea as their spokesman they replied to overtures made to them to return that "The Mohawks are determined to sink or swim with the English." The war was over and all they had was lost; unless they would agree to return and change their allegiance, but this they refused to do.

I have no more to say of this period of their history. I think, I hope, I have said enough to bring clearly to your mind the recognition of them as true United Empire Loyalists. They have been called treacherous and cruel in war, but why should they be required to have the white man's standard, and rules of warfare? They could not understand why kindness and consideration should be extended to an enemy in war, under any circumstances. War, to them, meant a supreme effort to destroy their enemy, as long as they were at war with them. They never, under any circumstances, asked or expected consideration, at the hands of an enemy in war. It would be cowardly to ask it and weakness to give it. As little would they consent to be untrue or cruel to a friend or ally.

Their homes being lost, it became necessary to look about them for new ones, and with this end in view they sent Thayandanegea to England where he was well received by the highest official and social persons. He was presented to the King, and refused to kneel or kiss his hand on the ground that he was also a King in his own world. He was much entertained and lionized. An

English Baroness who met him at dinner thus described him: "His manners are polished, he expresses himself with fluency, and is much esteemed. In his dress he showed off to advantage, in a half military, half savage, costume. His countenance is manly, and his disposition mild." He became a member of the Church of England and he translated parts of the New Testament into his own language.

The Six Nations in 1784 were granted a strip of land, six miles wide on each side of the Ouse, now called the Grand River, from Lake Erie to the river's head, that is, from Port Maitland through the counties of Haldimand, Brant, Waterloo, beyond Galt and Preston. They settled on this land, then, of course, all forest. And a magnificent home for them it was. The river was broad and deep, flowing without obstruction to the lake. It teemed with fish of all kinds. The forest was alive with game. Some years later the Canadian Government induced the Indians to surrender or sell to the Crown the greater part of this Reserve, at a very small price, and this money has since remained in the hands of our Government, and the interest on it, is annually paid to the Six Nations. With this interest they make their public improvement and pay all public expenses. They have 52,000 acres left in the townships of Oneida in Haldimand, and Onondaga and Tuscarora in Brant along the Grand River, only a little, a very little, part of their original grant. On this little spot now live all the descendants of these United Empire Loyalists, part of the great Iroquois nation, whose warriors once reigned supreme from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, and from the far South, to and beyond these northern Lakes.

Let me keep you a few minutes longer while I turn to their present conditions.

You form your opinion of them no doubt from the few you see off the Reserve, those who go to pick berries, those who stray into town and get drunk. Could a correct idea of the white people of any town or county be got from seeing only the poorest of them, the thriftless, the loafers, the ignorant and drunken ones? I doubt very much if any of you has seen the best of them. I never have in this city, and in fact seldom anywhere off the Reserve, excepting in Brantford.

They are still, as their forefathers were, a silent people. They do not talk to strangers, and only in moderation to white people, whom they know. They have rich musical voices, low and

pleasing. They speak as a rule very low and quietly. When walking together at the present day, they walk in line behind each other, not beside each other. In war, or in tramping in the forest, this was necessary, because all but the leader had a path to follow, and the longer the line the better the path got as each passed; then they could pass in this formation, with much less noise, and it was much more difficult for an enemy to know, just how many there were in the party. Though these reasons have long since passed, the habit still remains. I have often seen strings of ten or a dozen passing along in a line, a low constant murmur of conversation, audible only a few feet away, going on among them. They are to-day a fine, erect, athletic-looking lot of men.

Of course there being no more game, they have been forced to turn to agriculture, and other pursuits of the white man. Although they prosper fairly well, still they seem constituted for a more active and exciting life, and it is very doubtful if the Indian race can ever be really happy in modern circumstances. In order to give you an idea of them in their present condition, and to show you that they are quite different from what they are generally thought to be, I will give you a few facts.

Their 52,000 acres are divided into farms and mostly cleared. Among them there are some quite wealthy Indians, and a high degree of prosperity is general. They have ten good schools, and the school houses compare most favorably with the average country school-house throughout this province. On the Reserve there are six Church of England services, four Methodist, four Baptist and two Second Adventists, each Sunday. Church and religious work among and by themselves is good. There are five temperance societies in good healthy condition. Intemperance among them, as among the whites, is confined to the few weak ones, and is on the decrease. They have good roads, with modern steel bridges over the streams. Their fences are good, as a rule, and their land well worked. They have annually a very creditable agricultural fair. They are clear and bright in business transactions, and as a rule honest. They are not governed by our Ontario laws. They have their own laws. No white man can get a judgment against them for anything. If you trust them, and they do not choose to pay you they need not, you can't collect it be the Indian ever so rich, and yet in Brantford, or the surround-

ing towns they can get anything they require on their word, excepting only a few known to be dishonest.

There are some dishonest men among them, but as a rule they find dishonesty does not pay an Indian any better than it does a white man.

As a sample of the successful Indian I will describe to you one of many whom I know. I will take Chief Smith, (he has also an Indian name,) because he is a farmer and I met him a few weeks ago when I was up West; so he naturally comes to my mind. He is tall, well-built, a thoroughbred Indian, speaks both Indian and English and writes and reads English quite well. When I met him the other day his smile of recognition was as friendly and expressive as any white man's could be. He was dressed like any successful white man, good tweed suit, well made, good overcoat with beaver collar and a good fur cap. He lives on his 200 acre farm on the Reservation in a good large brick house, and has plenty of good outbuildings and a good barn. There are Indians on the Reservation more wealthy than he is and many quite as well off.

They have the same form of government now practically as they had 450 years ago when they formed their confederacy. Their Council, or Parliament, consists of 70 members, all chiefs. The Superintendent attends all their meetings which are held at the Council House on the Reserve. When in session the Union Jack always flies over the building. The Onondagas are the fire-keepers, an office which has always belonged to this tribe. When the session is about to open the members all take their seats, the Superintendent has a seat of honor provided for him.

An Onondaga in olden times started the official fire and then declared the meeting open. Now an Onondaga lays a belt of wampum on the table before the speaker and makes a short formal speech, part prayer. In it he refers to the matters that are to come before Council and then thanks the Great Spirit for sparing those who are there, asks Him to watch over them in their work, to help them to act for the national welfare and not from individual or selfish motives, and finally to bless the white Chief and take him safely to his home. Then the meeting is declared open. All this is in the Indian tongue. Roll is called and the white Chief, Superintendent, thanks them for remembering him, etc. The Superintendent always speaks to them through

an interpreter while in Council, though every man present knows quite well all he says in English.

The Mohawks and Senecas sit on the left side of the speaker, every question is considered first by them and when they decide their leader announces the result to the Oneidas, Tuscaroras and Cayugas, who sit on the right. They consider it and if they come to the same conclusion it is carried, but if they differ from the left side of the House their leader announces the result to the Onondagas or fire-keepers who sit in the front centre. The Onondagas decide with one side or the other and announce the result to the Speaker of the House and the Superintendent and this settles it.

Now when you remember that this form of procedure was established by them centuries ago when the white man had as yet taught them nothing, I think you will agree with me that they had good ideas of statesmanship. Then of course the Great Chief was in the place now filled by the Superintendent.

Their speeches in debate are clear and concise, often eloquent if the subject requires or permits it. Here they make their own rules and by-laws subject only to veto at Ottawa.

About 700 of these Indians are still pagans. Pagan men do not cut their hair, the Christian men do. You know a pagan at once by his long braid of coal black hair. They worship the Great Spirit and are honest, mostly sober and moral. They keep up the pagan rites of their forefathers. In January they have the sacrifice of the pure white dog. This is an offering to the Great Spirit in propitiation for their sins. The dog must be killed before daylight by some means which I do not know, but without drawing even one drop of blood. The dog is burned with certain rites and ceremonies. After this they have religious dances and then a feast. Pagans hold aloof from others and are more honest as a body than those professing the Christian religion or no religion. Indians who mix most with the whites are the worst Indians.

Pagans marry and have only one wife. When a young pagan desires to marry, the pagan chiefs are called together, he takes his intended wife before them and says that he takes her for his wife; she assents. The chiefs then give them really good advice, and then a feast, and then it is over.

I will not weary you with much more about these people, these United Empire Loyalists. But you may be pleased to know

whether or not the dash and spirit which made them masters of so much of this continent at one time has died out. It has not. Let me call to your mind that in 1812 they flew to arms against our enemies. They fought side by side with our fathers at Beaver Dam, Queenston Heights, Detroit, and elsewhere. They at present form a large part of our 37th regiment. They are ready to form a full Indian regiment at any time, and when the war in South Africa was on, the Council offered the British Government 300 men for service in that far-off land to fight for the Great Mother, as they called her, and the flag.

The once great Six Nations have now only 4300 descendants on their little Reserve in Canada. Nearly 120 years ago they came and not only have they not materially increased but were it not for accessions from other tribes since their number would have really materially decreased. They live on their own money. Our Government does not build them fine Government offices and hospitals, nor spend our money for their welfare, and yet in duties on goods they use and by inland revenue they pay taxes as we do. Considering their loyal past and their fading present I think more should be done by the Government.

In these two townships are the little band of descendants of this once great race, struggling manfully to adopt the British white man's ways and to reach the British white man's standard. They once protected and fought for him.

Once owners and masters of the best of this grand continent won by their own prowess in war, free to follow the game which then abounded everywhere, they seem now to be pushed aside, there is no room for them, the greedy white man wants it all.

The sun of their greatness has long since set and a dark cloud of extinction seems to be gradually enveloping this once great race.

Influence of the U. E. Loyalists in the Development of the Canadian Commonwealth.

BY REV. A. B. SHERK.

In 1763, the Treaty of Paris was signed and "Canada with all its dependencies," was, by France, handed over to Great Britain. By this act all North America, from Davis Strait to Georgia came under British control. The Great West as well as the great North-West became hers. This vast area of territory, with scattered colonies along the sea coast and on some of the great rivers, brought with it increased responsibilities and difficulties, and, we might add, dangers too.

The conflict with France was scarcely over when the colonies began to give vent to their grievances. They appealed to the home government to have their burdens lightened, and even sent special envoys to press the matter upon the home authorities. But the wishes of the colonists were disregarded, the result was growing dissatisfaction. Unfortunately the men then in power did not understand the circumstances and needs of the colonists, and refused to yield to their wishes or to redress their grievances. They seem to have assumed, although the Atlantic lay between them and the colonies, that they knew better what should be done than the sufferers themselves.

The best we can say to-day is that the course of the home authorities was very unwise, and this unwise course completely alienated a large number of the colonists and culminated in what has been called the revolutionary war. But when the rupture took place the colonists divided into two parties. One party refused to seek further for redress, threw off allegiance to Great Britain, and went into open revolt. This was the Revolutionary party. The other was the Conservative party. Those who belonged to this party felt the grievances from which the country was suffering quite as much as the others; but they contended that persistent agitation would in time bring relief in a constitutional way. We hold that they were right. This party was called Tories by the Revolutionists. It is so called by American historians, but British and Canadian historians call it the United Empire Loyalist party, for its aim was the preservation of the

integrity and unity of the Empire. When the separation took place large numbers who had been identified with the Whig party remained true to Great Britain and suffered for their loyalty.

From the very first the Revolutionists were exceedingly bitter towards the Loyalists. They regarded them as enemies of the country, treated them as outlaws, followed them with hate and scorn after the war closed, and then confiscated their property. The late Dr. E. Ryerson said, "The Americans inaugurated their Declaration of Independence by enacting, that all adherents to connection with the mother country were rebels and traitors; they followed the recognition of Independence by exiling such adherents from their territories." (Canadian Readers—Book IV.—p. 23.) Intolerance characterized the revolutionary movement from beginning to end, although the revolutionists claimed to be the party of liberty.

The Loyalists, driven from their homes and stripped of their earthly all, now sought refuge in the wilderness of the north. Many found a shelter in Nova Scotia, but by far the larger number settled on the shores of the St. Lawrence, about the Bay of Quinte, on the Niagara Peninsula, at Long Point, and on the Detroit River, about Amherstburg. In these different localities they began life anew; by almost superhuman efforts, and by heroic endurance, they built up homes again and unconsciously laid the foundation for this great and growing Dominion.

The Canadian Almanac for 1902 says the U. E. Loyalists were "those settlers in the United States who remained faithful to the British cause." This definition is simple, but all may not be ready to accept it, for it has been common to classify as U. E. Loyalists only those settlers who were ready to bear arms in defence of the "British cause." But there were others who evidently deserve to be ranked as Loyalists, namely, large numbers of the Mennonites of Pennsylvania, and Quakers also. At the outbreak of the revolutionary war the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed a strong measure against separation from England. This was probably largely due to Mennonite and Quaker influence; but ultimately the colony seceded through the manipulation of political schemers, and Loyalists had to submit to the inevitable. Among the Loyalists were many Mennonites and Quakers; but as I am better acquainted with the Mennonites than with the Quakers, I will call special attention to

them. Like the Quakers the Mennonites are non-resistants, and for this reason they escaped many of the troubles that came upon other Loyalists. Soon after the revolutionary war a great number of Mennonites came to Canada, and kept coming till well on into the nineteenth century. They settled in the Niagara District, along Black Creek and the Twenty Mile Creek, also in the Township of Waterloo, one of the oldest townships in Central Ontario. A company of Mennonites from Pennsylvania bought the Township of Waterloo at the opening of the nineteenth century; and soon after the stream of immigration commenced to flow to this garden spot till the best lands were all taken up. The Mennonites also formed settlements in the townships of Markham and Whitchurch, in the County of York. They came to Canada because they were in love with British institutions and wished to be under British protection.

In the early part of the eighteenth century, the Mennonites found an asylum in Pennsylvania from European persecution, and by the favour of the English government were exempted from military duty. Though opposed to carnal warfare they were thoroughly loyal to the "British cause," and, we think, should be classified as Loyalists. Dr. E. Ryerson, who understood their character and history, so classified them. They did not suffer losses and disabilities like the other Loyalists, for the reason that their religion forbade them to mingle in the bloody strife that went on for nearly seven years. But still they were loyal to the British at least those who settled in Canada were. They had done no military service, they got no land grants, asked for none and wished for none.

The Mennonites, who settled in Canada in considerable numbers, more than a century ago, have been among the sturdiest pioneers of our country. The descendants of this quiet, industrious, high-minded, God-fearing people, have done much to help to give character and stability to our institutions. Their honesty and integrity have always been admired, and their influence is being felt in every part of our wide domain. We may say they have been an important factor in the growth and development of this province, and are among the best citizens of our Dominion.

We return from what many, perhaps, will regard as an unwarranted digression, to observe that the U. E. Loyalists were exiled from their country for the crime of loyalty to the Empire.

Their patriotism was deep as that of the revolutionists, in mental calibre they were their equals, and the moral tone of their character and lives was quite as high. The only thing that could be alleged against them was their loyalty to the crown of Great Britain. It is time that the truth in regard to these long-suffering people were more fully known, for they have been misunderstood and misrepresented long enough. We quote Dr. Ryerson again, who says, "until recently the early history of the Loyalists of America has never been written, except to blacken their character and misrepresent their actions; they were represented as a set of idle office seekers, an imputation which has been amply refuted by their raving the forests of northern countries, and converting them into fruitful fields, developing trade and commerce, and establishing civil, religious, and educational institutions that are an honour to America itself."

The histories and school books of the neighbouring Republic have done much to foster and perpetuate the feelings of hatred to everything British. They studiously ignore the wrongs committed by the revolting colonists, (their deeds were always deeds of patriotism), but they emphasize and magnify any wrongs of which the British were guilty. Under such teaching the mass of the American people have grown up with the idea that England is the most despotic power on our planet and they wonder how Canadians can tolerate her rule. They fail to see that democratic institutions can thrive and grow under a monarchy—institutions too that give a larger measure of freedom than their own.

We are glad, however, that the mists are clearing away, and our neighbours are beginning to view us favourably. The U. E. Loyalists and those who cast in their lot with them have outlived the unjust aspersions from which they suffered. Their true character and real worth are beginning to be known and understood. A century ago no one thought that the little settlements of patriots planted by the sea, or scattered in different sections along the great lakes and rivers, widely separated from each other, would become one of the great social and moral forces of the continent. "The Lady of the Snows," as Kipling calls Canada, is beginning to show a vigour that is surprising the world. Perhaps it would be better to change Kipling's

figure, and adopt that of a late cartoon in one of the Montreal dailies, and speak of her as "the giant of the north."

We must take another backward look at the struggles of the U. E. Loyalists in the first settlements. To face an unbroken wilderness empty handed is no small matter. This is just what the Loyalists did when they put their feet on Canadian soil; but to them this was preferable to submission to rule with which they had no sympathy. They braced themselves for the worst, and commenced the struggle with difficulties heroically and cheerfully. Here in the wilderness they stood on British soil, and breathed the air of freedom. The old flag that had "braved the battle and the breeze for a thousand years" once more waved over them, and gave inspiration to their toils and sacrifices.

Some say the Loyalists were sentimentalists. Then it is asked, why did they not yield to the will of the majority, submit to the new order of things and retain the homes they had built up by years of labour and care? The answer is simple, they were Britons, and saw no reason why they should be anything else but Britons. If patriotism is sentimentalism then they were sentimentalists, but it is just such sentimentalism that has swayed the noblest spirits that have appeared at different periods of the world's history, unified races and nations and helped humanity upwards. To the Loyalist it was far easier to be stripped of his earthly all and allow himself to be expatriated for ever, than to submit to the rule of those who had revolted against the mother country. The Loyalist had his patriotic instincts and convictions—he was true to these although it sent him a homeless wanderer from his own country. This alone is proof of his high character.

It is difficult for us to realize at this distance of time how much the Loyalists suffered during the first years of their settlement in Canada. It is true Great Britain did not forget her faithful subjects who had counted all they had in the world but loss from love to her. Governor Simcoe, who had fought for Britain through the revolutionary struggle, became closely associated with the Loyalists of Upper Canada, and did much to help along these noble pioneers. For three years they were furnished with provisions, and a few farming implements were given to them. To all the men and their sons of a certain age

there was given a forest farm and an axe to cut down the timber that covered it.

What the home government did was a great blessing and help, but even then the struggle with difficulties was a long, sad and terrible one. We are told that the fourth year "proved so disastrous that they were driven to eat roots and berries, and many of the weak and aged died of actual starvation," (Crown and Empire). The forests could only be conquered by slow, steady and continuous toil. What a new settler in the North-West with limited means may do in three or four years, it required twenty or twenty-five years to accomplish a century ago. But little by little the wilderness was conquered, homes were built, comforts multiplied and providence smiled upon the work of the faithful pioneer. Before the first decade of the nineteenth century had passed away they had fruitful fields and orchards, and cattle and sheep, and most of the comforts of country homes of that day, and withal churches and schools. Their toils, their sacrifices, their courage, their indomitable pluck and their faith brought to them all the blessings and advantages of Christian civilization.

But just as the Loyalists were beginning to reap the fruits of their toils and to rejoice in their prosperity the war of 1812 began. This was a serious interruption to the prosperity of the pioneers, who had already suffered so much for being loyal to their political convictions. But they were not to blame for the war, indeed they were on the best of terms with their American neighbours. There was, however, a class of political leaders in the United States who it seems had all along been viewing the north with covetous eye, and were waiting for a favourable opportunity to take over these fair possessions of Old England. They thought the favorable opportunity had come, so they dragged their country into the war, at once marched their forces to the front, and made ready to invade Canada. England at the time had only a small force in the country, but she had in the old U. E. Loyalists and their descendants true and loyal hearts who were ready to lay down their lives to repel the enemy. Canada had offered them an asylum when they were driven from their homes in the United States, and for the country that had become doubly dear to them they were prepared to die. Almost to a man they offered themselves and did valiant service as soldiers—none could have done better service. But for the hearty response of the U. E. Loyalists the probability is that Canada

would now be a part of the American Republic instead of being one of the proudest possessions of the Empire of Great Britain. "Through the heroic valour, sufferings and sacrifices of the men who defended Queenston Heights a nation was born, destined, we may believe, to live as long as the famous river on whose banks the first touch of national life was felt."—(Miss Murray.) Not only at Queenston Heights, but at Lundy's Lane, Beaver Dam, Stony Creek, Chrysler's Farm, and indeed all through the contest the U. E. Loyalists were at the front, and displayed the utmost fortitude in defending the country and driving back the foe. I am sure it is not too much to say that the Loyalists were the real heroes of the war of 1812. This is no fulsome laudation, but is easily explained. Let us bear in mind that the Loyalists were still smarting under the injury they had received from the revolutionists; and now being assailed in their new homes by their old foe, the recollection of the old wrongs they had suffered would be calculated to transform every man into a hero.

At the beginning of the revolutionary war the Revolutionists did their utmost to get Canada to side with them, and aimed to despoil England of all her possessions in North America. Benjamin Franklin went to Quebec with the view of seeking to bring about this result. The death of the traitor Montgomery at Quebec ended this scheme. The effort of certain Americans to erect a monument to his memory on the spot where he fell looks to us like an insult to the people of Canada. The war of 1812 again aimed at capturing Canada. Hull's boastful message as he was about to invade our territory at Detroit shows the spirit that animated this adventure; and he soon learned that Canadian blood has no affinity for American institutions. The Americans have tried ever since they set up for themselves to bring Canada under the stars and stripes; but every effort so far has been a failure, and they themselves now admit that the prospect is anything but hopeful. Sometimes a small coterie of malcontents in Canada have advocated annexation to the United States, but they have never found much sympathy for such views or wishes. Quite often some free and easy Americans have said in a kind of bantering way, "We could take Canada before breakfast." Our reply is you tried it in 1812 but did not get very far. Others with an assumed air of indifference have said, "It is not worth having." This reminds us of the fable of the fox and the grapes. Then still others assure us it would be a great advantage to

Canada to be a part of the United States. Let us see. In 1901 the trade of the United States was \$29 per capita, that of Canada \$70 per capita. In the face of these figures it does not look as if Canada could gain very much by annexation. Our present relations, politically speaking, are happy, and I do not see how they could be well improved. I do not see any reason why we should even wish for a change, and I am glad to know that the number of those who have such a wish is small indeed.

We believe that the wise providence of God has reserved Canada for a great mission among the nations, and that the Loyalists were the chief medium through which it has been kept for this purpose. In all the great crises through which our country has passed from the first till now they have performed a very important part. Indeed it was the Loyalists that first planted the seed that has now grown into the stately tree of which we are so proud.

We will yet refer to a few notable characteristics in the history of the Loyalists.

We are prepared to say that they were lovers of peace. In the war of the revolution they acted on the defensive, although stigmatized as rebels. In the war of 1812 they were again on the defensive, for the enemy had invaded the country, and they fought to drive him back. In neither case were they the aggressors.

We claim next for the Loyalists great respect for law and order. Their whole history proves this to be true. This feature in the Loyalists has been impressed on every part of our Dominion. Just as the Quaker characteristics have left their impress on the city of brotherly love, so have the Loyalists left their impress on Canada, and given it a reputation as a law abiding country. This is as true of the new and distant parts as of the older sections. We are told that the administration of law and the preservation of order are just as faithful in the City of Dawson as in the City of Toronto. I am informed that Judge Lynch has never been called to settle one case in the whole history of Canada. This is a proud record for us.

We further claim that the early Loyalists were devoted to the education of the young. We have learned something about their schools from some who attended them. These schools were at first mostly held in private houses, for that was the best the people could do; and the schools were all voluntary schools. I

could take you to one of the houses in the Niagara district that was for years used as a school house. It was built of hewed oak logs, more than a century ago. It is still a comfortable dwelling, and besides being a centre for the education of the boys and girls in the early part of the last century in that locality, it has sheltered five generations of Loyalists. The interest evinced in the education of the young in this place I think is just an illustration of the interest throughout the early settlements of Upper Canada. The schools were not the best, but they were the best the people under the circumstances were able to have. But defective as they were, they were the germ from which our present superior school system was evolved. And the system of public schools that we hold in such high esteem, and that has scarcely a rival on the continent, was the work of a son of an old Loyalist.

Lastly, a strong element in the character of the Loyalists was their respect for the institutions of Christianity. They were by no means all Christians, but large numbers were, and the Old Book was taken as their guide. This Christian belief gave strength to their character and weight to their influence. The result was the different phases of unbelief did not affect Canadian settlements as they did other sections of the continent. A century or more ago when French infidelity flooded the United States it made very little impression on the Canadian people, the Bible had such a strong grip upon their minds that the dangerous teachings were at once resisted. Much of the power that Christianity has in our country to-day is due, we hold in large measure, to the Christian influence of the early Loyalists.

Some may say we claim too much for the Loyalists. We are told that many other people from different sections of the Empire and of the world have found homes in Canada, and are as good citizens in every way as the best Loyalists. This is true, and yet it must be admitted that the Loyalists were the shaping political factor by which the heterogeneous elements that met were molded into a unity that astonishes the world. The Loyalist leaven that was brought here in the closing years of the eighteenth century has been slowly leavening the body politic, and soon we expect the whole body will be completely leavened. Racial prejudices are dying out, party strife is less bitter than formerly, and all classes from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are feeling a thrill of satisfaction in being called Canadians. The

dream of the early Loyalists is more than realized. Canada stands for a united Empire, and is the home of a free people from ocean to ocean.

The Loyalists of Glengarry.

MRS. ROSS MURISON.

After the failure of the "Forty Five" there was a good deal of dissatisfaction in the Highlands of Scotland with the restrictions imposed by the Government, and many turned their eyes to America. This was especially true of the Roman Catholics who, to a man, were Jacobites, and many of whom, seemingly, in the early sixties emigrated to America settling in the beautiful Mohawk Valley. In this migration the name MacDonell predominates as the movement was headed by chiefs in this clan. This Scottish settlement was augmented in the later sixties by many Highlanders from other parts and other clans who were Church folk. These also settled in the Mohawk Valley, being induced thereto not only by the fact that there were already a number of their own nationality in the county, but by the representations of Sir William Johnson who had found Highlanders good neighbors to have in his trouble with the Indians. The Valley lay in what was then called Tryon County, but which because of the loyalty of Governor Tryon, was later called Montgomery after the General who lost his life in an attempt to capture Quebec.

When the troubles between Britain and her colonies became intense, the Highlanders in spite of the Jacobitism of most, if not all of them, took the side of the British and their Hanoverian King. In New York, the most loyal of all the colonies, the first man to come into direct clash with the continental officials was Guy Johnson, who was warned to desist from stirring up the Loyalists. The second, and really the first to suffer for his faith, was a Scotsman, Angus MacDonald by name, who was found guilty of enlisting and encouraging Loyalists, and was sent to jail in Connecticut. Letters upon MacDonald showed that his brother, Alexander MacDonald, was engaged in the same work in Richmond County. This was in April, 1775. In July of the same year one Peter Herring was sent to Connecticut to be imprisoned at the pleasure of the Congress because he had aided a Loyalist to escape to a British man-of-war. These were the first New York Loyalists to suffer.

On December 30th, 1775, Congress resolved to send General Schuyler to Tryon County "to secure the arms and stores of the Tories and to apprehend their Chiefs." Schuyler came with 3,000 men and after a long consultation between this General on the one side and Sir John Johnson and a Mr. Macdonell on the other, the arms—or some of them—were surrendered. In addition Schuyler demanded six hostages as security for the Scots; this was refused, but six Highlanders gave themselves up as prisoners preferring to go in this capacity. For some unexplained reason Congress soon decided to go back upon its agreement and sent Col. Dayton with a letter releasing Sir John from his parole and with private instructions to arrest the baronet and take him before Washington. Fortunately, Johnson had timely warning of this characteristic plot, and escaped with some 200 Scots to Canada.

The traditions of this flight still live in the County of Glengarry. For nineteen days the company wandered, suffering almost incredible hardships. The regular roads were all held by the rebels, so the fugitives had to follow circuitous routes. Their shoes were worn off their feet and their clothes almost off their bodies; their stock of food was soon exhausted and no more was to be had, even game being scarce, frightened by such a large company. The poor dogs which had faithfully followed their masters were killed and eaten and then for eleven days the exiles had to subsist as they could on leaves and roots and any other edibles they could find. They were almost completely exhausted before they reached Canada, and it was a crowd of faint spectres that emerged from the woods.

Brant, John and Walter Butler, and Guy Johnson, had come to Canada before this, and Johnson having word of the intended flight of his cousin sent a party of Indians out to look for the Loyalists and give them any needed help. This information I have from my uncle, Mr. Peter Ferguson, and I have no doubt is correct, although I have seen it in no book. The Indians found the refugees in such a famished condition that they could not give them solid food, but they roasted ears of maize and made a sort of tea of this and maple sugar. The memory of his experiences during this flight were so terrible that my great grandfather could never, as long as he lived, bear to see good water thrown away.

Many of the women remained in Tryon, coming to Canada

later, but a considerable number came with their men folk. One tradition may be quoted. One woman, Mrs. Ross, had with her her twin boys, babies just beginning to toddle. One day in struggling through the bush carrying the two in her plaid on her back, one of the boys fell out. Through exhaustion and the roughness of the way the loss was unnoticed for some time. When the mother discovered her loss the hue and cry was raised and returning they found the poor wee fellow trying to clamber over a burned, blackened log. The state of his hands and face may be imagined, and in the endearments lavished by the mother upon her little one was the expression "Spoghan dubh," or Black Paws. This she repeated again and again and for the rest of the journey the bairn was known as Spoghan Dubh. The name stuck and although Thomas Ross lived to a good old age, he was never known by any other name than Spoghan Dubh.

Sir John Johnson was at once created a colonel and commissioned to raise a regiment for the Crown. The Highlanders immediately rallied around him. Flick says the regiment now gathered was largely Presbyterian and Lutheran, but there were also a great many Scottish Roman Catholics in it. The Regiment was named "The King's Royal Regiment of New York," but was generally known as "The Royal Greens," perhaps from the colour of the facings. In this regiment my great grandfather served from its formation until it was disbanded. Enlistment went on, however, all through the war, and a second battalion was formed in 1780. The numerical strength of Sir John Johnson's company seems to have been about 800.

After the flight of Sir John Johnson, Johnson Hall was sacked and Lady Johnson, and at least one Scottish lady taken as hostages. Lady Johnson was carried to Albany and later to Fishkill. She wrote to Washington asking him either to remove her from the custody of Schuyler because of indignities she was made to suffer, or to give her a passport so that she could reach friends. Both requests were refused. Soon after with the assistance of a faithful negro, named Tony, she escaped to the British. The escape took place in January and had to be through deep snows. Lady Johnson had with her a baby born in captivity, and the burden of the babe, even with the help of Tony, added much to the mother's hardships. The privations of the mother, her lack of proper nourishment, added to exhaustion was

fatal to the nursing infant, and the poor thing died just as the British lines were reached.

The Johnsons were an Irish family, the name having been originally MacShane or MacSean. Sir William Johnson because of illustrious services was created a baronet and loaded with favors. He was a great power among the Indians and was sometimes styled the Indian Tamer. The second Lady Johnson was Miss Mary Brant, a sister of the great chief. Some doubt of the legality of this marriage has been most unnecessarily raised because it is said that the marriage was performed with Indian rites only.

Sir William died in 1774, and was succeeded by his son, Sir John. The estate of the Johnsons upon which they lived in baronial style consisted of 200,000 acres, so that they gave up much for the sake of loyalty. When they fled the family plate was all buried by a faithful negro slave, who although confiscated and for a considerable time the property of a rebel never gave the least hint of the whereabouts of the treasure. It was later recovered and conveyed to Montreal by forty Highlanders.

Sir John Johnson, more than other Loyalist leader, has been reviled by Unistatian historians (if I may be allowed the use of this lately coined word). This is simply because he and the Royal Greens made the rebels swallow a great deal of the medicine they were so fond of administering to the Loyalists. From 1776 to the close of the war, Sir John and his soldiers were a thorn in the side of the Continentals in New York State. Sometimes they suffered loss and repulse, but generally they carried through what they undertook, and the rebels had to "pay the piper." It is perfectly true that many things were done which we now regret, and which would not be permitted in modern civilized warfare, but the time and the provocation must be taken into account. At all events, charges of cruelty come with a bad grace from their enemies whose cruel treatment of Loyalists and unoffending Indians is notorious.

In the spring of 1777, Alex. and John MacDonell, who had come over with Johnson in the previous year, returned, and gathering a large company of Scottish and German Loyalists brought them to Canada. Later in the year Sir John and his regiment made a raid on Tryon County, and met the enemy at the famed battle of Oriskany which was fought on July 6th, 1777. In proportion to the numbers engaged, this battle was the

severest and most bloody of all the war. Four hundred of the Continentals were killed, among them being nearly all the revolutionary leaders in the district. I shall quote a verse out of a poem celebrating this victory, not because of any poetic merit, but because of its mention of the Royal Greens :

“ War, never fiercer sight has seen,
Than when Sir Johnson's Cohort Green
Charged on the Mohawk Rangers keen
The sole such strife Almanza'd been
As that on the Oriskany :”

John MacDonell was killed in this battle. In the following year his brother Alexander with 300 men invaded the Schoharie Valley and met with practically no opposition. Unmolested he took back to Canada a great number of Loyalists from Tryon County. This raid, where a small force penetrate without opposition into the country of the enemy, is one of the most curious incidents of the war. In 1780, Sir John made a raid on the Mohawk Valley and carried off a number of prisoners who were sent to Chambly. A hundred and forty-three Loyalists returned with the regiment. Later in the year he made another campaign, visiting first the Schoharie Valley, and then crossing over to the Mohawk. On this occasion there were with him besides his own regiment, 200 Butler's Rangers and some regulars and Indians. All attempts to crush the invaders failed and the small army successfully returned.

The Mohawk Valley suffered more than any other place in America during the Revolutionary War. It is calculated that one-third of its inhabitants were Loyalists and that another third left on account of the virulent war waged by Johnson and his regiment, yet in 1783 there were in the Valley 300 widows and 2,000 orphans.

A very interesting book dealing with this period is an edition of the orderly book of the regiment for '76-'77. One entry in it shows that the soldiers were drilled in travelling on snowshoes. This practical innovation on the established drill is an example of how thoroughly the Royal Greens were trained for the kind of warfare they had to wage. It would have been far better had more of the British officers broken away from traditional methods and adopted such as were best fitted for a rough country.

After the surrender of Burgoyne, the regiment was engaged

for a time in border warfare and when peace was declared was disbanded in Montreal. The following is a copy of the discharge given to the soldiers :—

“ His Majesty’s Provincial Regiment called the King’s Royal Regiment of New York whereof Sir John Johnson, Knight and Baronet, is Lieut.-Colonel Commandant.

These are to certify that the bearer hereof, Peter Ferguson, private in Major Gray’s Company, of the aforesaid regiment, born in the Parish of Glen Morison in the County of Inverness, aged thirty-seven, hath served honestly and faithfully in the said regiment seven years ; and in consequence of His Majesty’s order for disbanding the said regiment, he is hereby discharged and is entitled by His Majesty’s late order to the portion of land allotted to each private of His Provincial Corps who wishes to become a settler in this province. He having first received all just demands of pay, clothing, etc., from his entry into the said regiment to the date of his discharge, as appears by his receipt on the back hereof.

Given under my hand and seal at Arms at Montreal this twenty-fourth day of December, 1783.

JOHN JOHNSON.

The receipt is as follows :—

I, Peter Ferguson, Private, do acknowledge that I have received all my clothing, pay, arrears of pay, and all demands whatsoever from the time of my enlisting in the Regiment and Company mentioned on the other side to this present day of my discharge. As witness my hand this 24th day of December, 1783.

PETER FERGUSON.

The discharged soldiers in the following spring repaired to New Johnstown on the St. Lawrence, now called Cornwall, where the distribution of land was made. The allotment was made by each man drawing from a hat. By mutual accommodation and exchange friends were frequently able to settle side by side. The most of the Highlanders settled together in what is now Glengarry. With them came a few of other nationalities ; Young, (Lowland) ; Curry, (Irish) ; Falkner, (English) ; Snider, Cline, and Sommers, (German). The Falkners came originally from Lancashire and gave the name Lancaster to the Township in which they settled.

At this same time there came to Glengarry a considerable

number of discharged soldiers of the 84th, or Royal Highland Emigrants, a regiment raised from Highland emigrants in Canada and Nova Scotia, and including a goodly number of Loyalists. The 84th was regimented in 1778. The chaplain of this regiment was the Rev. John Bethune, one of the most interesting of Glengarry Loyalists. Mr. Bethune was born in the Isle of Skye, and after his ordination came out to a parish in North Carolina. Here he was chaplain of the loyal militia and was taken prisoner at the battle of Cross Creek in 1776. He was confined for a time in the local goal and was then sent to Philadelphia, where after a time he was exchanged and went to Nova Scotia. My uncle, Mr. Peter Ferguson, informs me that this account given by the books was not the version told in Glengarry. The local tradition there is that Mr. Bethune was given by his gaolers the choice of either being tarred and feathered, or of riding an unbroken and very wild young horse. Being a good horseman, he chose the latter and not only conquered the horse but made it the means of his escape to the British. This tradition is very probably correct for the Revolutionaries were very fond of tarring and feathering and otherwise maltreating unfortunate Loyalists who fell into their power.

This warrior priest after his arrival in Nova Scotia took an active interest in raising the Royal Highland Emigrants, of which regiment he was appointed chaplain. After the 84th was disbanded Mr. Bethune ministered for some time to the Scottish churchmen in Montreal where he founded the historic St. Gabriel's Church. As a Loyalist he received a grant of land apportioned to his rank in the army—3,000 acres, the same as that of a captain. Having what the Scots call a "big small family" he removed to his grant in Glengarry near Williamstown, a village called after Sir William Johnson. In the village a church was built and he carried on his ministerial work among his fellow churchmen, establishing churches in Lancaster, Martintown and Cornwall. Mr. Bethune was the first Scottish Church minister in Upper Canada, and his parish church of Williamstown, the first Presbyterian Church built in Ontario. This minister died in 1815 and is buried in the churchyard of Williamstown, and in the church his six sons put up a beautiful tablet to his memory. Mrs. Bethune was a lady of Swiss birth, Veronica Wadden, and was a true helpmate to her husband in the hard life of the bush. One of my most valued treasures is a spinning

wheel which once belonged to this diligent "mistress of the manse." Mr. Bethune sent his sons to Cornwall to a school kept by the Rev. John Strachan, who became later a well-known Anglican Bishop. Through the influence of the master, himself a convert from the Scottish to the English Church, two of the Bethune boys turned Episcopalians, and both came to honour in that Church, one of them, Alexander, becoming the successor of Dr. Strachan in the Anglican Diocese of Toronto.

While the story of Mr. Bethune may be of interest only to Loyalists and members of his own Church, another Glengarry Loyalist is of interest to all Canadians. This was Mr. John MacDonell, one of the first members for Glengarry, and the Speaker of the first Parliament of Upper Canada.

Having come to their grants in June, the Loyalist settlers had a few months to prepare for the coming winter. By neighbour helping neighbour log houses were put up. These were always very small at first, the largest being not more than 20 x 15 feet. The roof was of elm bark, the floor of split logs, the hearth of flat stones, and the chimney of field stones built with clay. A blanket did duty as a door until a few boards could be whip-sawed and after a time the window was fitted with a rough sash containing four lights of glass $7\frac{1}{2}$ x 8 inches. Beds and bedding the settlers took with them, but all the furniture had to be home-made. When a shelter was provided for themselves, a small clearing would next be made in readiness for cropping in the following spring. It was no easy life, but to-day this portion of Glengarry is as thrifty and progressive a farming community as one will see in Ontario. The Government was quite good to these first settlers. It provided food and clothes for three years, supplied seed grain, gave each settler an ax, a spade and a hoe; a plough and a cow were supplied to every two families; a whipsaw and a cross-cut saw to every four. A number of handmills were also distributed and after a few years Sir John Johnson built a mill at Williamstown.

In 1786 other Scottish immigrants began to arrive from Scotland, until gradually the county was filled up with Highlanders. It has remained largely Highland since that time, although of late years a great number of French Canadians have come in. The spirit of the Loyalists has always ruled in the old County of Glengarry and its sons have on every occasion on which there was need shown themselves ready to take up arms for their

country. In the war of 1812 every man able to bear arms took the field, the farm work being done by the women, children and old men. Col. Carmichael in a letter to Sir James MacDonell says: "I beg to state that the County of Glengarry has on every occasion been distinguished for good conduct, and will on any emergency turn out more fighting men in proportion to its population than any other in His Majesty's Dominions."

In 1785 Glengarry petitioned to be separated from Quebec as the system of land tenure in that Province was distasteful to the Loyalists who had been accustomed to the simpler and easier tenures of New York. The separation was accomplished in 1791, when the province of Upper Canada was created.

Of the social life one need not speak at length. The spiritual wants of the Scottish Church people were faithfully ministered to by Mr. Bethune, while the Roman Catholics after a few years secured as their clergyman a priest who came out with a band of immigrants from Scotland. This priest was Mr. Alexander MacDonell, who later became the famous first Bishop of Upper Canada. Gaelic was absolutely necessary to a minister of either faith, and in Glengarry there are practically only the two Churches, the Roman and the Scottish. The regular use of Gaelic is fast disappearing from the church services, yet my father conducted service at least once each Sabbath in the ancient tongue.

There was the greatest good feeling between the members of the two Churches. It was no uncommon thing for Presbyterian parents to have their child baptised by Mr. MacDonell if the minister were not to be had, and the priest was frequently called in to comfort the sick and dying, to whom he could speak and for whom he could pray in the beloved Gaelic. This confidence in him was very gratifying to the priest, who used sometimes to boast that he knew a number of good Kirk prayers. On one occasion some trouble had arisen between the minister and certain of his parishioners. Both parties agreed to call in the priest as arbitrator. Mr. MacDonell carefully heard the whole case and then decided in favor of his brother cleric and gave the congregation of St. Andrew's a good talking for their treatment of their spiritual adviser.

In the evening the people would gather to talk over the old times and to sing the old songs. Mr. Roderic Mason MacLennan, of Avenue Road, has kindly given me a verse of an old song he learned as a boy. One verse is all he can remember. The song

was composed as a farewell to those who emigrated from Scotland to Carolina, the most of whom came later to Canada as Loyalists.

To'ghaibh mev founn air na fhearaidh
 U'dhalbh nuill sa char thairis
 I'm bheil sibh a'grarath tuille chardain
 Anns an ait san d'rinn sibh fannail.

There were also a number of Loyalist songs but Mr. MacLennan unfortunately could not remember any verses of these. I tried to get some remnants of these songs in Glengarry but failed.

Mr. MacDonell in his sketches of Glengarry tells an amusing story. One MacDonell named John Roy (Red John) had taken an active part all through the war and on one occasion conducted a party of Loyalists from the Mohawk Valley to Canada. He was never tired of relating his adventures of the old days and naturally these grew no less. On one occasion a distinguished British officer was visiting the Rev. Mr. MacDonell and hearing of the Loyalists expressed a desire to meet some of those who had done so much for the British connection. He was taken to see John Roy who described in full the war and his share in it dwelling especially upon the bringing over of the Loyalists and all the sufferings they endured. The stranger said it was wonderful and remarked the only thing to compare with it was Moses leading the children of Israel from Egypt to the Promised Land. The comparison did not please old John who exclaimed: "Moses, compare me to Moses. Moses be far enough. He lost half his army in the Red Sea and I brought my party through without the loss of one person." From this it is evident that though Mr. MacDonell was a good Loyalist he was a little weak in Bible history.

The amusements of the early settlers were always combined with work taking the form of "bees." The chief of these would be the "logging bee" for the clearing of land, one of which is so graphically described in the "Man from Glengarry." Another was the "raising bee" for the erection of houses and barns. These bees would generally end with a dance. Evening gatherings would take the form of a "fulling bee" when the homespun cloth and blankets would be shrunk after coming home from the weaver. The new cloth was wrung out of suds by the matrons, and then handed to the young people who were seated around long tables. Each person grasped the cloth opposite

to him or her and brought down upon the table with a forward movement, then took a fresh hold and repeated the process. The cloth went round and round the table thus, always to the time of some swinging Gaelic song, until it was judged sufficiently pulled when it was removed and another web substituted. Then there was the "husking bee," when all men and maidens stripped the husks of the ears of maize and had a jovial time doing it. After the orchards began to bear, there were "paring bees," at which apples sufficient for the use of the family till the following year were peeled, quartered and threaded on cords to be hung up and dried. Songs had an important part in every gathering the favorites being such old songs as "Fear a' Bhata," or "Ho ro mo nighean doun Bhoideach," which I have often heard sung at festive gatherings in my father's parish. I shall close by quoting a verse and chorus of an old song which was sent me from Glengarry by an old gentleman who says it was the favourite at bees when he was a youth. It is not the kind of song I wished but it will do as an example of the songs with which the early Glengarry Loyalists cheered themselves and one another.

MAIRI LAGHACH.

B'og bha mise a's mairi 'm fasaichean Chlinn Smeoil,
'Nuair chuir macan Bhenuis saighid gheur 'nam fheoil
Tharruing sinn gu 'cheile ann an eud co beo
'S nach robh air ant saoghal a thug goal co mor.

LUINNEAG (Chorus).

Ho mo Mhairi laghach
'S tu mo Mhari bairn,
Ho mo Mhairi laghach
'S tu Mhairi ghrinn
Ho mo Mhairi laghach
'S tu Mhairi bhinn
Mo Mhairi bhoidheach lurach
'Rugadh anns na glinn.

Butler's Burying-Ground.

BY JANET CARNOCHAN.

Many references have been made to this neglected spot. Perhaps the late lamented Mrs. Curzon was the first who drew the attention of the public to it, in, I think, the *Dominion Illustrated*. Many mistaken ideas have been or are held respecting it, as, for instance, it is often called by strangers Butler's Rangers' graveyard, but these doughty and much maligned warriors lie in many distant graveyards in our land. I found their names in Thorold, Beamsville, Fort Erie, St. David's, Stamford, Homer, Virgil, Grimsby and many other places public or private. This half acre of land was in the centre of the farm of 200 acres of Col. Butler, about a mile from the west end of the town. In the will of Col. Butler, he gave directions that he should be buried in the family graveyard, the will was made in 1793, and his death occurred in 1796. A deed is in existence made in 1832, by which the spot became the property of six persons, given by Thomas Butler, a grandson, to Warren Claus, John Claus, Thomas Butler, James Muirhead, Ralph Clench, Hugh Freel; and members of all these families are buried here, besides others, some of whose names we know not. There were many gravestones, some erect, others flat on the ground, beautiful trees surrounded the spot, and some were in the enclosure which was surrounded by a good fence. A vault at one time well protected contained the remains of the Claus family. The property changed hands and the dividing line of two farms runs exactly through the burial plot. When I first visited the spot, in 1900 I think, it was from the lake road, I was accompanied by a young girl some of whose relatives were buried there; we crossed fences, low lands, climbed hillocks and finally reached the spot, and I fortunately copied most of the inscriptions. Fortunately I say, for some of them are no longer visible. Since then I have taken different strangers to the spot, and at least on two occasions had great difficulty in finding it. My second visit was with Mrs. Curzon, and our driver took us by the stone road leading to St. Catharines. Again fences had to be climbed and when at last the spot was reached, what a scene of desolation, nay, of desecration, met our view. Scarcely a stone was left standing, many fragments strewed the ground. The question was, who had performed this act of vandalism. At first it seemed as if it had been done

wantonly with sledge hammers. Surely no one could have deliberately been guilty of such a deed, but an explanation was afterwards given that an immense tree on the boundary line had been cut down and in its fall had broken most of the gravestones. In later visits, wire fences bar the way, but even these can be manipulated to give entrance, although I know two English ladies who walked out all the way, and when the wire fence was reached they only ventured to peep over. A lath fence surrounds two family plots, but we found this could be lifted up and crawled under by anyone anxious for further investigation.

Strange to say although the names of many Butlers are found, there is nothing to show the exact spot where the Colonel himself is laid, but the late Mr. John Clement told me that Mr. Stewart Claus had had the spot pointed out to him by his father and that there had been a flat stone with an inscription which is now covered with earth, and he was sure that if dug for the stone would be found. It is reasonable enough to suppose that this may be the case as we know how decaying plants, etc., form new soil and raise the surface. It might be worth while to investigate the truth of this. At the summer meeting of the Canadian Institute in Niagara in 1892, a resolution was carried to have the remains of Col. Butler removed to St. Mark's Cemetery. The necessary arrangements were made in the belief that the remains were in the vault, invitations were issued to various members of the family and others interested, but when the day came nothing was done as it was asserted that the vault was the Claus vault and Col. Butler would not have been buried there as Daniel Claus and Col. Butler were bitter enemies. Many gruesome tales are told of the desecration of this vault, which for some time was open so that irreverent *gamins* were known to enter and carry away the bones found therein. A huge boulder has been placed which effectually prevents such intrusion. In late years various attempts have been made to place matters on a better footing, to build a fence and erect a cairn with the names of all the dead buried here. Between two stools, it is said, we fall to the ground, but three or four different associations have taken the matter up, the Canadian Institute, the United Empire Loyalists, the Free Masons, the Military, and it is to be hoped that success may soon crown their efforts. One very important matter is to secure the right of way from the road, as there is no lane through the intervening fields.

Some inscriptions may yet be seen—here was buried the wife of Col. Butler three years before his own death. Hers must have been a life of vicissitudes as we read that she had been kept a prisoner in Albany during the Revolutionary War, after the cruel custom of the times and was exchanged only with great difficulty. In the Upper Canada Gazette, published in Niagara, then Newark, 29th May, 1793, she is thus spoken of, “Died, Catharine Butler, wife of John Butler, Esq., first Judge of Common Pleas, Lieutenant-Colonel of Old Rangers, and chief agent for the Indians. Few in her station have been more useful, none more humble. She lived 58 years in the world without provoking envy or resentment, and left the world as a weary traveller leaves an inn to go to the land of his nativity.” It may be safely said that few obituary notices are so pathetically expressed.

Col. Cruikshank in his “Butler’s Rangers” has vindicated the name of Col. Butler, and has shown that he was not guilty of the cruelties attributed to him by some prejudiced historians, but that, on the contrary, he used every endeavor to restrain the Indians and frequently saved lives, and we know that he often bought white children from the Indians to restore them to their homes. Col. Cruikshank says, “He served as Judge of the District Court till 1792, and held the responsible position of Deputy Superintendent of Indians till his death in 1796; successive commandants at Fort Niagara added their testimony as to his tact, zeal and ability. He retained the confidence and respect of Carleton and Simcoe, and apart from the attacks of Claus there is scarcely a hostile criticism of his public or private conduct to be discovered in all the large mass of official correspondence.” The tablet in St. Mark’s bears this inscription, “Fear God and honour the King. In memory of Col. John Butler, His Majesty’s Commissioner for Indian Affairs, born in New London, Connecticut, 1728. His life was spent honorably in the service of the Crown. In the war with France for the conquest of Canada, he was distinguished at the battle of Lake George, September, 1755; at the siege of Fort Niagara and its capitulation, 25th July, 1759. In the war of 1776, he took up arms in defence of the Unity of the Empire and raised and commanded the Royal American Regiment of Butlers’ Rangers. A sincere Christian, as well as a brave soldier, he was one of the founders and the first patron of this parish. He died at

Niagara, May, 1796, and is interred in the family burying ground near this town. Erected 1880."

In the Niagara Herald, February, 1801, "On Thursday last departed this life, Mrs. Ann Claus, relict of Col. Daniel Claus, and mother of Capt. William Claus, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, and sister of Sir John Johnson. She was possessed of many amiable qualities that endeared her to all her friends and died universally regretted."

In 1826 died the Hon. William Claus, aged sixty-one. A eulogy on his character was given at the Garrison service. In our historical room is a document signed by Chiefs in 1826 in which we see the feelings of the Indians to Col. Claus, it being a grant of 15,360 acres of land, part of that granted by Haldimand in 1784 to the Six Nation Indians. "Whereas the Hon. Wm. Claus of the Town of Niagara, has for the last thirty years been our trustee and managed our affairs with great advantage to our interests and made profitably available our money without any compensation from us whatever. And we the said Sachems and Chief Warriors willing to attribute such disinterested conduct to feelings which have characterized his ancestor Sir William Johnson towards our nation, besides his father who served with us during the whole of the French war as well as that of the rebellion and being more particularly able to be our friend from speaking our languages, and who together with himself have resided with us and amongst us and guarded our interests with parental solicitude, therefore having taken into consideration the long, arduous and faithful service of our trustee and to pay and satisfy his just claims upon us and as a mark of our esteem and gratitude determined to surrender to the said William Claus," etc.

Of one buried here much good is told, a skilful physician and generous, benevolent man, Dr. James Muirhead. In the papers of the day are numerous references. Dr. Muirhead was a native of Scotland and came with the 16th Rifles about 1790. He is described as a stout, fine-looking man with ruddy complexion. He may be called the pioneer doctor of Niagara and held many responsible positions, as Commissioner of the Peace, was appointed Trustee by the Lieut.-Governor in 1807. His skill as a surgeon is spoken of in the Upper Canada Gazette, 1802. He was one of those taken prisoner after the capture of Niagara, and was sent to Greenbush. In the Gazette, Newark, 1797, is this notice :

"As the inoculation for smallpox is this day commenced at Queenston and the season of the year is favorable the subscribers propose inoculating at Newark and in the County of Lincoln on most reasonable terms, the poor gratis." Signed Robert Kerr, James Muirhead. In the Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society, 1819, is mentioned that Dr. Muirhead was very active in assisting the distressed and though he lost almost all at the burning of Niagara would receive nothing from the Society but attended patients gratis. In the list of houses burnt and their values that of Dr. Muirhead is valued at £500.

One inscription is remarkable for punctuation and orthography.

"Deborah Freel: died 1816 aged 70. My dere: children: Think on God: And His Commandments: An He wil Think on yo: Observ your youth: dont lose no time: Least God should take you in your prime: Serve God above: And on this world: fix not your lov:"

A large flat stone intimates that it was erected as a family monument by Charles Richardson, A.D. 1835.

"Sacred to the memory of Ralfe Clench, died June, 1828, aged 66; Eliza Eurette Richardson youngest daughter of Ralfe Clench and Elizabeth, and wife of Charles Richardson, died September, 1833, aged 25; Jane wife of Robert Rist, late Captain of 37th Regiment, and eldest sister of Charles Richardson, died 1831."

The remains of Ralfe Clench were removed to St. Mark's Cemetery, where a monument was erected to him and his wife, who was the granddaughter of Sir William Johnson. Of Ralfe Clench perhaps more can be found in the early papers of Niagara than of any other person. The name occurs frequently in the town and township records from 1793 for many years as Secretary to the Free Masons advertising the meetings. His name is signed in reference to the jail and court house in 1802 and again after the war for another in 1817, which building is now the Western Home for children. It also appears in the list of members of the first library 1800 and again as librarian. He was one of Butler's Rangers and fought at Queenston Heights when advanced in life. He was also Judge, Member of Parliament and held other responsible positions, and must have been a useful member of society.

As an example of high sounding stately periods of that day this inscription may be recorded.

"Here reposes Maria Caroline, the generous-hearted, high

souled, talented and deeply lamented wife of Major Richardson, Knight of the Military Order of Saint Ferdinand of the first-class and Superintendent of Police on the Welland Canal during the Administration of Lord Metcalfe. This matchless woman died of apoplexy and to the exceeding grief of her faithfully attached husband and after a few days illness in St. Catharines on the 16th day of August, 1845, at the age of thirty-seven years."

This epitaph contrives to say a great deal of the husband as well as the wife. The Major Richardson referred to was the author of *The Canadian Brothers*, *Wacousta* or *The Prophecy*, *The History of the War of 1812*, etc.

Another stone chronicles "Samuel Cox who was born on the ocean between Germany and New York, 1759, died 1822."

A broken stone speaks of Butler Muirhead, barrister, who died in 1824, a son of Dr. Muirhead who married Deborah Butler, daughter of Col. Butler. From Dr. Muirhead and Deborah Butler the Richards family trace their descent, of whom Sir William Richards, Chief Justice, was so distinguished a son of Canada. In a small enclosure there are flat stones over the graves of two sons of Col. Butler, Thomas Butler and Johnson Butler, who died within a few days of each other December, 1812. Their wives and Judge Thomas Butler are also buried here.

The last interment here was John Claus, the son of Col. Wm. Claus and grandson of Daniel Claus and his wife, the daughter of Sir William Johnson. No doubt others may have been buried here but those mentioned are all of whom we have any trace. They sleep well in this secluded spot where beautiful old trees wave a requiem over the plateau which overlooks the meandering stream which Mrs. Jarvis admired so much.

It is much to be regretted that so many of our honored dead lie in neglected spots given over to briars and weeds or perhaps to the plough or the pasture of cattle and it is to be hoped that some attempt may be made to rescue from oblivion the inscriptions on these old stones. What I have attempted in the Niagara Peninsula should be done in every county of Canada in which there are buried old settlers who so nobly laid the foundations of our country's prosperity. I close with the opening words of our last publication "*Inscriptions and Graves in the Niagara Peninsula.*"

"Books in the running brooks
Sermons in stones and good in everything."

"Sermons in stones ! yes and far more : history, pathos and humor, morality, religion, patriotism, warning, inspiration, what shall we not find ! But of the nameless graves whether in consecrated ground or in the plain, the cultivated farm once the scene of bloody strife, in the ruined fort or in many a lonely spot we can rarely or never know the story. Many of these form a page of history never to be wholly deciphered, but let us try while we may, imperfectly though it be, to place on record from moss-grown stone defaced by time or perchance ruder touch, the names and what we can piece together of the early pioneers, whether men or women, poet or artisan, soldier or priest, legislator or farmer, teacher or sailor, and from these pages of the past we may learn lessons for the present or the future, lessons of courage, of usefulness, of generosity, of friendship, of patriotism, of duty, of religion. Then they died shot down by stealthy Indians or French or American foe as now they give up their young lives on Africa's arid veldt, but each inspired by the same adventurous spirit which has made the Briton, be he Celt or Saxon, the pioneer in the world's progress, one of the factors in that "morning drum beat which encircles the globe," and proud that he is one of a nation "on whose dominions the sun never sets."

A Norfolk County U. E. Loyalist,—Captain Abraham A. Rapelje.

A FAMILY SKETCH BY AGNES E. R. TAYLOR, HAMILTON.

The family of de Rapalié, from which the subject of this sketch in descended, is of French origin and were known as military leaders as far back as the 11th century. The first member of whom actual record is found is (1) Caspard Colet de Rapalié, Colonel of Infantry, born 1505. Being known as Protestants they incurred Papal animosity and were obliged to fly to Holland in 1548. From Holland his grandson (2) Joris Jansen de Rapalié came to America, and he is the common ancestor of all the American and Canadian families of this name. He came with other colonists in 1623 in the "Unity," a ship of the West India Company, and settled first at Fort Orange, now Albany, N. Y. His daughter Sarah was the first child of European parentage born in the colony. Afterwards he bought a tract of land now included within the limits of Brooklyn, N. Y., where he settled and spent the remainder of his life and died soon after the close of the Dutch Administration. (3) He is also said to have erected the first house on Long Island, N. Y. The family intermarried largely with the Dutch residents, which caused the change in the spelling of the name, the present being a Dutch corruption of the original. From the time New York became an English Colony the Rapeljes, as a family, were very loyal to the Crown, (4) and we may say that Abraham A. Rapelje was born at Newtown Long Island, on the 15th of May, 1772, in an atmosphere of the strongest loyalty. The story has been handed down in the family that, as a little fellow of a few years old, he climbed his father's fence overlooking the road and seeing a Company of Whig soldiers passing by, he shouted, "Long live King George" which so enraged them that they wanted to shoot the child down and thus nip such sentiments in the bud, but those in authority prevented them. His grandfather (5) Captain Jeromus Rapelje, of Newton, Long Island, was among the proscribed in 1776 and died that year while the Whigs were in search of him. His own

(1) Chadwick's "Ontarian Families," Vol. 2.

(2) "Annals of Newtown," by Riker.

(3) Chadwick's "Ontarian Families," Vol. 2.

(4) "Loyalists of the American Revolution," by Sabine.

(5) "Loyalists of the American Revolution," by Sabine.



MRS. PERLEY.

father, Abraham Rapelje, died in 1780, leaving a widow and two children, Abraham A. Rapelje and Winnifred Rapelje; the latter was some five or six years older than her brother and was married when only sixteen to Henry Van Allen, who served in the Commissariat Department during the Revolution. After the Peace, the Van Allens, Abraham A. Rapelje, and their mother, then married again to Captain Vanderburg (another staunch Loyalist who was wounded eleven times in the Revolution,) went to Nova Scotia. So much time has elapsed that, with the exception of one daughter of Abraham A. Rapelje, Mrs. Charles Strange Perley, of Port Dover, all the members of the family who could have given the writer information are dead, and particulars of this part of his history, consequently, are very meagre, but the daughter above referred to says she used to hear much from her father of the hardship and privations they underwent while in Nova Scotia. In the Crown Lands Department, at Halifax, N. S., is a deed of land to Ensign Henry Van Allen dated 14th August, 1784. Apparently the family remained in Nova Scotia about ten or eleven years, then they all returned to Long Island temporarily, to settle matters in connection with their property. On account of his minority it was found that not all of Abraham A. Rapelje's property, which came to him by inheritance, had been confiscated by the Americans, so a few years were spent in recovering this remnant, during which time he married Sarah, daughter of Peter Wychoff, and finally, on 4th July, 1800, Abraham A. Rapelje, with his wife and eldest daughter, the Van Allens and their family, Captain Vanderburg and his family (his wife, formerly Mrs. Rapelje, being now dead) and two cousins, Daniel and Jeromus Rapelje, arrived in Canada, and settled first at Dover Mills (now Port Dover,) County of Norfolk, Upper Canada. These particulars are made very clear, because the "late Loyalists," especially those who settled in the County of Norfolk, have been held up in a very uncomplimentary light in an article written by a member of the U. E. L. Association; their chief motive for seeking refuge in Canada having been ascribed to gain. This certainly cannot be said of Abraham A. Rapelje, for he had sufficient to make a start with in the new country, and did not receive an acre of ground from the Government when he settled here. His reason for coming was solely that he might live under British rule.

He and the Van Allens were still living at Dover Mills when

the war of 1812-14 broke out, and, as was to be expected, he was ready when his adopted country called. He had evidently been actively connected with the Norfolk Militia before the war actually broke out as he held the rank of Captain from the outbreak. His daughter says at the time the battle of Queenston Heights was fought he was home on sick leave, being very ill with fever and ague, and not only was this a trial when every patriotic man wanted to be at the front, but at this time he was also qualified for the rank of Major and through inability to take it the next in order was promoted. History (6) tells us that three days after the battle of Queenston Heights (13th October, 1812) an order was sent from Major General Sheaffe at Fort George as follows: "For two-thirds of the whole establishment of the 1st and 2nd Norfolk, 1st Oxford and 1st Middlesex Regiments of Militia to repair, with the greatest possible despatch, to the following points:

1st Norfolk	}	Chippawa.
2nd Norfolk		
1st Oxford	}	Queenston.
1st Middlesex		

Colonel Talbot had been since 28th June, 1812, in command of the Militia in the London District, but so urgent was the need of the above Regiments that they were ordered direct from Headquarters without going through the regular course. On 19th October, 1812, Colonel Talbot (7) received the following instructions: "to distribute the men so called out between Long Point and Point Abino, making such intermediate arrangements for other points along the communication as your superior local knowledge may suggest. Major General Sheaffe begs that you will station strong detachments at the following places; at or very near Long Point, Dover Mills, Grand River, Sugar Loaf and a small party distributed from the latter place to Fort Erie."

From a note-book (8) carried all through the campaign of 1812-1814 by Captain Rapelje, and used by him to jot down all sorts of memoranda, besides containing two Muster Rolls, we can gather to a certain extent his whereabouts during those years.

(6) Cruikshank's Doc., Hist. Part IV., page 132.

(7) Cruikshank's Doc., Hist. Part IV., page 137.

(8) This book was lost to the family for many years, then found by Captain Spain of Port Dover and kept among his Canadian curios for some years; and finally it has come into the possession of the family again in the person of the writer.

He was at this time in command of the 1st Flank Company of 2nd Regiment of the Norfolk Militia, the complete muster Roll of which is given below, viz. :—

A. A. Rapelje	Captain
Titus Williams	Lieutenant.
Isaac Gilbert	Ensign.
Henry Medcalf	} Sergeants.
Benjamin Williams	
Benjamin Haviland	
1. John Mathews	21. Evi Adams (certified dead)
2. Richard Drake	22. Job Messercar
3. John Butler	23. George Sergent
4. Silas Messenger	24. Saml. Gilmore
5. Philip Mathews (dead)	25. Albert Berdan
6. Reuben Alward	26. James Lemon
7. David Conrad	27. Charles Hannon
8. Jacob Berdan	28. John Conrad
9. John Wychoff (dead)	29. Christian Dedrick
10. Mathias Woodley	30. Saml. McLean
11. Alexander Lemon	31. John Ducher
12. Elijah Williams	32. Geo. Zobriskie
13. Pinkney Mabee	33. Dan. Berdan
14. Leon Chevic	34. Richard Marr
15. Cornelius Sleight	35. Michael Cruson
16. James McQueen	36. John Bonnet (drummer)
17. Abram Messercar	37. Simon Mabee
18. Israel R. Disbrow	38. Saml. Troup
19. Joseph Robier	39. John Winance
20. Dan. Millard	

His Company appears to have been sent first to Sugar Loaf, from Dover Mills, County of Norfolk, according to the following extracts from his note-book : " Simon Mabee returned and joined the Company at Sugar Loaf, Nov 4th, 1812." " Morning returns made from the 31st October, 1812, at Sugar Loaf to Headquarters at Fort Erie up to 3rd November, 1812—42 men."

He has a lengthy note of an engagement about this time as follows : "Fort Erie, 28th November, 1812. The Americans came over with a large number of boats. By examination of a witness we took says they (the Americans) could not collect more than 3000 men on the frontier, that 800 or 1000 attempted to land on 28th, inst., but could not effect their purpose, and they suffered

severely by the brave few that opposed them, who were rightly but few in number in comparison to the Americans, who made the best of their way back with their shattered boats, after leaving a number dead, and some prisoners, perhaps fifty." He also gave a casualty list of his Company from which it appears that one man, John Wychoff, was killed, and seven men wounded, with four men missing, in this engagement. Another note says this engagement took place near Fort Erie Rapids. February 12th, 1813, he was stationed at Carter's Point and gives a list of the men of his Company who received clothing there. Some time during this year of 1813 he raised a Company for one of the Incorporated Militia Battalions and there are various notes showing expenses of recruiting in the Incorporated Militia, payments to men of his Company; etc. Apparently he was with them at York later, for a complete Roll dated at that place 13th February, 1814, is given as follows:—

A. A. Rapelje	Captain.
George Ryerson	Lieutenant.
Edward Logan	Sergeant.

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. James Jewel | 17. John Beers |
| 2. Daniel Curtis | 18. John Cole |
| 3. Amon Robertson | 19. John Hinchey (deserted) |
| 4. Albert Berdan | 20. John Emmins |
| 5. John Butler | 21. Richard Taylor |
| 6. Saml. Smith | 22. Anthony Anderson |
| 7. John Jackson | 23. Andrew Kelly (dead) |
| 8. Peter Layman | 24. James Canaday (dead) |
| 9. David Crani | 25. Joseph Wood (dead) |
| 10. Saml. Parker | 26. Saml. Wickham (deserted) |
| 11. Wm. Cronk | 27. J. Vanfalkenburg (deserted) |
| 12. David Younglove | 28. John Slaght (deserted) |
| 13. John Millard | 29. John Shearer (deserted) |
| 14. Jason Millard | 30. Joseph Loder |
| 15. John Nollack | 31. Jacob Nonimaker |
| 16. J. Thompson (deserted) | |

In an almost obliterated pencil note he says, "I returned from Long Point to Burlington, October 29th, 1813, and joined the Company at Stoney Creek that night." There is also a list of men of the Incorporated Militia to whom he issued clothing at Stoney Creek on 2nd November, 1813. There is, however, nothing to show that his Company took part in the Battle of Stoney Creek

on 6th June of this year, he and his Company being probably at some point on the Niagara Frontier at that time.

It will be remembered that on the 15th and 16th of May, 1814, an attack was made upon Long Point and its vicinity by the Americans, and a great deal of property was burned and destroyed by them. Colonel Talbot's report (9) of this to the Loyal and Patriotic Society shows that at Dover Mills Captain Rapelje's loss of house, etc., amounted to £112 10, and probably this sum would not cover what he lost by the destruction of his house, as it is said to have been a good one. Fortunately his wife and family were in a place of safety at this time.

It has always been understood, his daughter says, that Captain Rapelje fought in the Battle of Lundy's Lane, though no direct mention of him is recorded by history; the Incorporated Militia were certainly there, and the services rendered by them and the disposal made of them, during the engagement are repeatedly and favorably mentioned in Sir Gordon Drummond's report to Sir George Prevost of 27th July, 1814 (10). Captain Rapelje also has the following note in his book which sounds as if he had taken part, viz.: "On the 25th of July, 1814, the Americans near Niagara Falls, Lundy's Lane, with their whole force engaged General Riall's army consisting of about 2500 men. In the last only the 89th Glengarry and Incorporated Militia were engaged for near two hours before they were reinforced, and then the Americans were repulsed with great slaughter. The loss but trifling on our part in killed, but many wounded with buckshot."

One more note of importance is given, viz.: "September 4th, 1814. The Americans came out from Fort Erie and attacked our Batteries and were repulsed with considerable loss, the loss on our part but trifling." Also a list of monies paid the men since 25th June 1814, and dated at Stamford on 4th October, 1814, which practically ends his notes on the war of 1812-14. By virtue of his rank as Captain in the Incorporated Militia, "in which officers and men had the usual pay and allowances of regiments of the line," he drew half pay from the close of the war to the time of his death.

After the close of the war of 1812-14 he settled at Vittoria, then the chief village in the County of Norfolk, which be-

(9) Cruikshank's Doc. Hist. on Nia. Frontier in 1814, page 330.

(10) Cruikshank's Doc. Hist. on Nia. Frontier in 1814, page 87-92.

came to all intents and purposes the County Town, as the Court House was built there and much business transacted. He built a large and comfortable house on a hundred-acre farm which he bought and which was situated on the outskirts of the village. To build this house two carpenters were brought all the way from New York, but as they found Canada so much to their liking they did not return there. In 1818 he was appointed Sheriff of the London District. In November, 1826, the Court House in Vittoria was burned to the ground and it was rebuilt in London. His son Henry was appointed Deputy Sheriff and resided in London from that time, while his father, the Sheriff, went to and from Vittoria and London as required. Abraham A. Rapelje held this office for thirty-one years and only resigned when the London District was divided into the London and Talbot Districts and to have held this office longer he would have been obliged to live in London. This, as he was now getting an elderly man, and comfortably settled in Vittoria, he did not care to do. His son Henry was then appointed Sheriff of the Talbot District the Court House was built in Simcoe and he took up his residence there.

Captain Rapelje continued after the war to take an active interest in military matters and became Colonel of the 1st Regiment of Norfolk Militia, a change from the one in which held a Captaincy in 1812. He, as Colonel, and his eldest son Peter, as Captain, were both on active service during the Rebellion of 1837. His wife and daughters at home were very nervous during this time his wife having a keen remembrance of her experiences in 1812-14. They took all the silver and hid it in a hollow tree in the woods on their place and afterwards transferred it to the cellar of a ruined log house at the farther end of the farm. He sustained a great loss in the complete destruction by fire of his residence, "Oak Lodge," which took place at night in February 1853. No lives were lost, but almost everything except the silver and his desk were consumed. By this means all records and valuable information of various sorts were lost to his descendants.

Mrs. Rapelje, as another example of our heroic pioneer women, deserves that what her daughter can tell us should be preserved. She was very young when she first came into the wilderness of Canada in 1800, and had been accustomed to every comfort, not luxury, her people being large property and slave owners.

As far as known she had not left Long Island previous to coming to Canada, so was not accustomed to hardships, as her husband was, and we know she felt the change keenly. During the early and disturbed years of last century, and after the war of 1812, broke out, her husband was obliged to leave her and her children alone a great deal. The records of births and deaths of her family show that two of her children died in June and July of 1812, the one in the latter month being an infant ; this left her with five others. That she earned the respect of her neighbors is shown by the fact, that a man, left by her husband to look after things about the place in his absence, turned out afterwards to be a rebel of the blackest dye, and he confessed that for her husband's sake he had often felt inclined to betray his trust, but the sight of Mrs. Rapelje, as he often saw her, sitting with her children gathered about her, sewing for them by the light of the pine knots, restrained him from doing them harm or allowing others to molest them. She and the children were taken later on to York, and there they stayed until the close of the war, and there she, in common with other officers' wives, helped to take care of the sick and wounded.

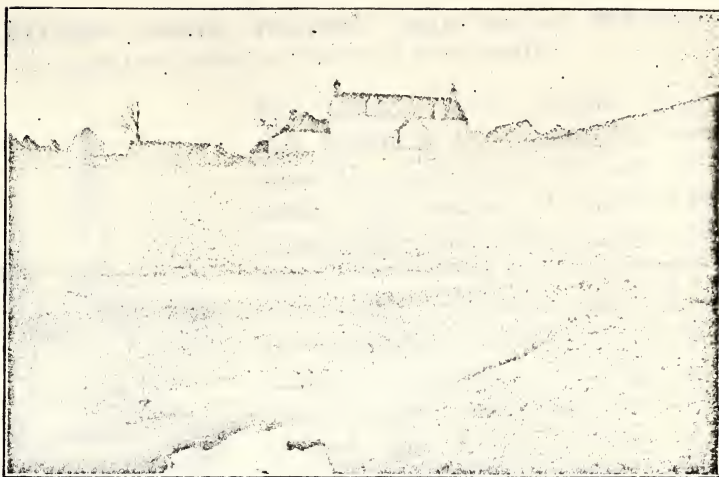
In these days of rapid transit, it may be of interest to look back a little less than a hundred years, and see how they travelled in Canada then. Mrs. Rapelje was filled with a great desire to see her mother, after she had lived here nearly twenty years; her husband could not go with her as his many duties kept him busy at that time, so she started out to drive to her home on Long Island in a light wagon, over which her husband built a canvas hood to protect them from the weather. She took with her her youngest daughter of less than a year old, and her son Abraham, a lad of sixteen years. It took them three weeks to make the trip from Vittoria ; each night they spent at some house or stopping place on the way.

In 1824 she again went to visit her old home, this time accompanied by her husband, and he brought back with him the first carriage to come into the County of Norfolk, with a pair of horses and silver-plated harness complete.

Another way of travel was by water, going by bateaux from Port Ryerse to Buffalo, thence to Black Rock and from there by canal-boats to New York. These boats in those days were considered quite luxurious. It took them eleven days to make the

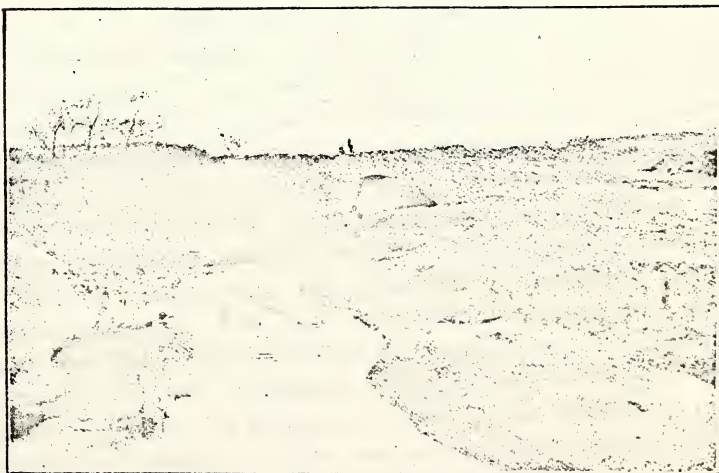
trip from Black Rock to New York, as many stops were made, but they made the return in six.

After a useful life of 65 years, Mrs. Rapelje died in 1841. Her husband survived her for eighteen years, living like most U. E. Loyalists to a good old age, viz.: 86 years. They had thirteen children, seven sons and six daughters, and of all this large family only two male representatives of the name are living at this time.



TORDARROCH HOUSE

Where Prince Charlie called after the battle of Culloden. As the house of Tordarroch was deserted and shut up, the family lost the opportunity of ministering to the Prince's wants on his flight to the West, a matter of regret to Angus Shaw and to his descendants even to this day.

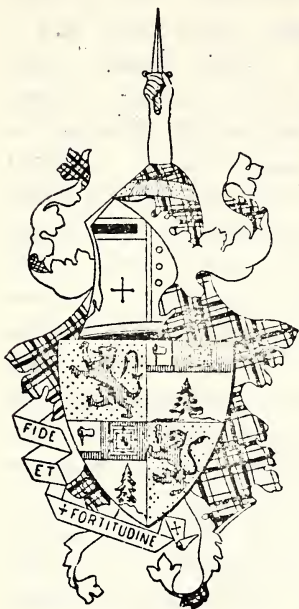


THE BRIDGE.

The steep and narrow bridge near Tordarroch, over which the Prince then rode, still stands.

Clan Shaw in Canada.

BY ALEXANDER FRASER, TORONTO. READ BEFORE THE U. E.
LOYALIST ASSOCIATION, BY J. S. CARSTAIRS.



THE tangled skein of clan tradition fascinates the genealogist even when the unravelment is most difficult. The student of family and tribal relationships returns again and again to the knotty problems furnished by a dim, untrodden past, finding an explorer's joy, if little else, in the pursuit of knowledge. The Highland clans furnish a wide field for such research, and of all the clans, perhaps, no others have presented harder problems than the members of the Clan Chattan confederacy—especially the claims of priority put forward by the Mackintoshes and Macphersons.

The clan tradition and genealogies derive the Mackintoshes from Shaw MacDuff, son of the Earl or Thane of

Fife, who was the King's representative in the Inverness district and was established in lands in the Highlands on account of his military services. A descendant married Eva, the daughter and heiress of Dugal Dall, the last chief in the direct male line of the ancient Clan Chattan, and with her received lands and the captaincy or leadership of the Clan Chattan Confederacy, which position the main Mackintosh family has since held in unbroken succession from generation to generation.

They had their ancient headquarters and stronghold on an island in Strathspey named Loch-an-eilean, a castle erected by the "Wolf of Badenoch." The ruins are still a feature of the romantic landscape. The loch and island are about two miles distant from the rapid river Spey, and nestle near the foot of the towering Cairngorm Mountains. The scenery is rugged and picturesque, Alpine in character, showing the remains of the heavy, ancient pinewood which once covered the mountain-sides. Here the Shaws flourished for centuries, appearing first in accepted history in connection with the clan battle on the North Inch

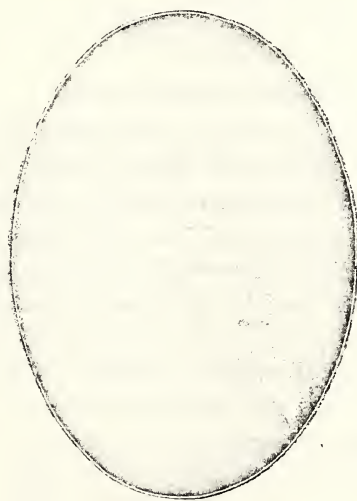
at Perth, when thirty champions from each of the Clan Shaw and Clan Quhele of Lochaber, wiped out an ancient feud by the arbitrament of the claymore, in the presence of King Robert III. and his court. (See Sir Walter Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth*.)

The name, Shaw, appears in various forms—Seagh, Tsead, Tead, Scayth, Seth. It means "proud," "princely," from Seagh; and the family begins with Shaw Mor, great grandson of Angus Mackintosh and Eva, daughter of Dugal, chief of Clan Chattan. Catanach and Mackintosh blood mingle in the family. Shaw Mor led the Clan Mackintosh during the old age of the eighth chief of Mackintosh, led the thirty champions in the set battle on the North Inch of Perth, against Clan Quhele, and on account of his valour on that occasion Mackintosh granted to him occupancy of the lands of Rothimureus, where he had to contend with remnant of the Comyns. He was known as "Shaw Mor Corfhiachlach." He died 1405. He was succeeded by James, killed at Harlaw. He and his descendants for two generations retained the name Mackintosh. James had two sons, Alasdair, his successor; and Adam, progenitor of the *Tordarroch* branch, the oldest cadet of the Clan Shaw. Alasdair and Adam were still known as Mackintoshes. Alasdair's sons were John, his successor; Alasdair Og, ancestor of the Shaws of Dell; James, ancestor of the Shaws of Dalnavert; Farquhar, ancestor of the Farquharsons of Braemar; and Iver, ancestor of the McIvers of Harris and Lewis. Here we have a good example of the arbitrary way in which clan surnames originated and developed. John was succeeded by Alan I., who parted with Rothimureus to George Gordon. The next chief was his son James, who was succeeded by Alan II., stepson of Dallas of Cantray. By this time the estate of Rothimureus had passed from the Gordons, who had obtained it from Alan I., to the Grants. If Alasdair, of Achnahaitnich, was Alan II.'s oldest surviving brother, then the chiefship of Clan Shaw rests in his descendants who branched off to Crathinard, Crandard, etc., in Glenisla.

The "eldest cadets" of the Shaws are those of the family of Tordarroch, descended from Adam, son of James, son of Shaw Mor. Tordarroch is situated in Strathnairn, and was held by the Shaws for about three centuries in wadset from the chief of Mackintosh. The family grew in importance and became an independent sept, following the Mackintosh banner as a member of the confederacy. The order of succession was; Adam, Robert,

Angus, Bean, Angus, Robert, Alexander, Angus, who married Anne Dallas of Cantray, and was the ancestor of the Canadian Shaws of Toronto; Alexander, Aeneas, John, John Andrew Shaw-Mackenzie, who succeeded to Newhall, Ross-shire, through his paternal grandmother, and added the name and quartered the arms of Mackenzie to those of Shaw. His nephew, Charles Forbes Hodson Shaw-Mackenzie, is the present representative of the main line of the Shaws of Tordarroch.

As mentioned above the Toronto Shaws sprang from Angus of Tordarroch and Anne Dallas of Cantray. Of this marriage there were three sons and two daughters: Alexander, who carried on the succession; Aeneas (Toronto), John, Anne and Margaret.



COL. ALEXANDER SHAW, Lieutenant-Governor
of the Isle of Man (1790-1804.)

Alexander had, as had most of his kin, a distinguished military career. He entered the army as an officer of the 60th or Royal American Regiment of Foot; served in the Seven Years' War, 1756-60, and was aide-de-camp to General Prevost. He was severely wounded at the capture of Quebec. He was Lieutenant Governor of the Isle of Man—1790-1804. His oldest son, Aeneas, was a captain in the 39th Regiment, and died young in the West Indies unmarried. His second son, John, then succeeded. He rose in the army to the rank of major-general. His nephew, Charles Forbes Hodson (Shaw-Mackenzie) succeeded. He married Ellen, daughter of Major-General John Ramsay, and has a large family.



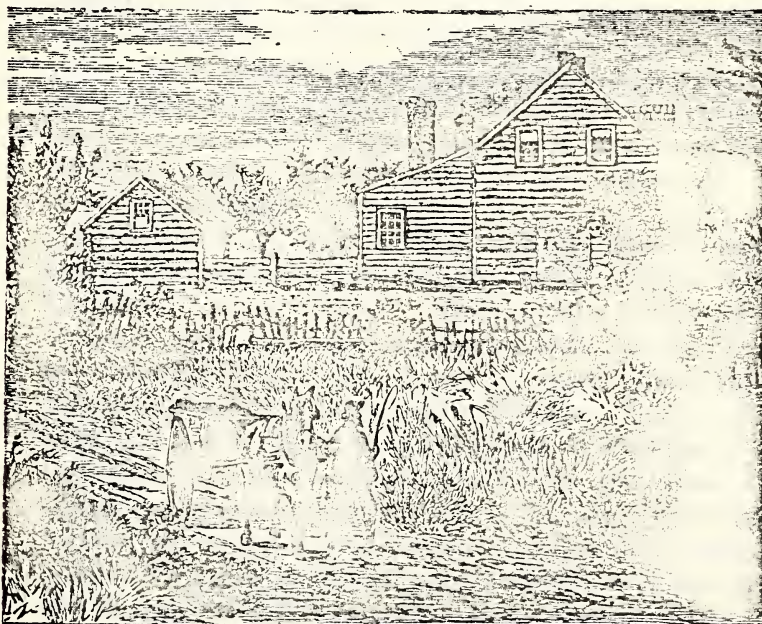
MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SHAW.

Reverting to Alexander's brother Aeneas (Toronto),—he also entered the British army at an early age, joining the 39th regiment as ensign in 1774 and serving in the Revolutionary war. He was lieutenant in 1777 and transferred to a captaincy in the Queen's Rangers in 1781. He became major in Simcoe's Corps in 1784, and Lieut.-Colonel of the Queen's Rangers in 1798, holding it until the end of 1803. He gallantly upheld the military prestige of his race. When a captain in the Queen's Rangers, Col. Simcoe in command, he was the hero of a gallant exploit



MAJOR-GENERAL HON. AENEAS SHAW, U.E.L.
DIED FEB. 15, 1815.

thus described by Col. Stephen Jarvis, an eye-witness: "I was eye-witness to a very brave exploit performed by the left division of the Highland company, under the command of Captain, afterwards Major-General, Shaw. One of the field pieces belonging to the Light Infantry had got fast in a quagmire and at last was abandoned by the artillery attached to it. The enemy gave a shout: 'Huzza! the cannon is our own,' and advanced to take possession, when Capt. Shaw ordered his division to the right about, charged the enemy, and brought off the cannon, which was ever after attached to the regiment." Capt. Shaw steadily



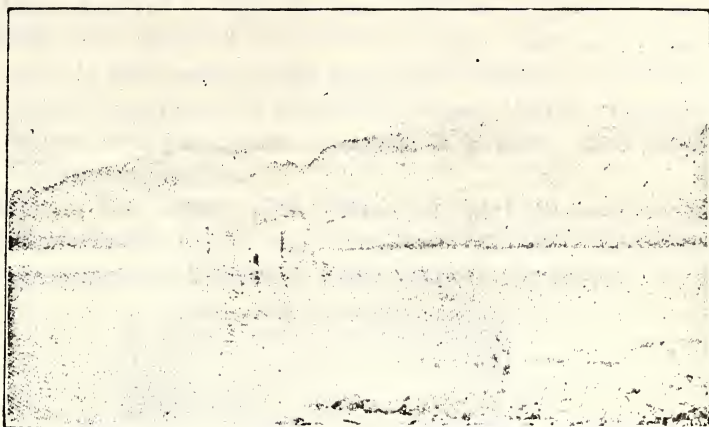
OAK HILL (TORDARROCH) THE HOME OF THE TORONTO SHAWS.
(THE SMALLER HOUSE BUILT IN 1794; THE LARGER IN 1796.)

rose in the army, and won the confidence and personal friendship of Simcoe to an extraordinary degree. When in command of a detachment of the Queen's Rangers, he executed a march in midwinter, which elicited the admiration of the soldiers of the day. It was an overland march on snow-shoes with a portion of his regiment from New Brunswick to Chambly (Montreal), occupying 24 days; from Montreal to Kingston, 200 miles, and from Kingston to Niagara, approximately 200 miles more. In the depth of winter 1791-2 this was a herculean undertaking,

without roads, through uninhabited forest, and rugged, broken territory. The meagre provisions the men could carry had to be augmented by such game as they could trap or shoot as they journeyed along. The soldiers often were on the verge of despair and only the courage and example of the Major sustained them. Simcoe reported this exploit to Sir George Yonge, Secretary of War, in high terms of praise. General Shaw was busily engaged with Lieut.-Governor Simcoe in the establishment of a government for Upper Canada and served at Niagara and in Toronto. He served as Major of Brigade at York in 1803, at Quebec in 1808, and at Niagara in 1810. He was ranked Major-General in 1811, and became Adjutant-General of Militia of Upper Canada the same year. He was second in command in Canada in the war of 1812, after the death of General Brock. He was also a member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada and was one of the Committee of Council which administered affairs during the absence of Governor Hunter.

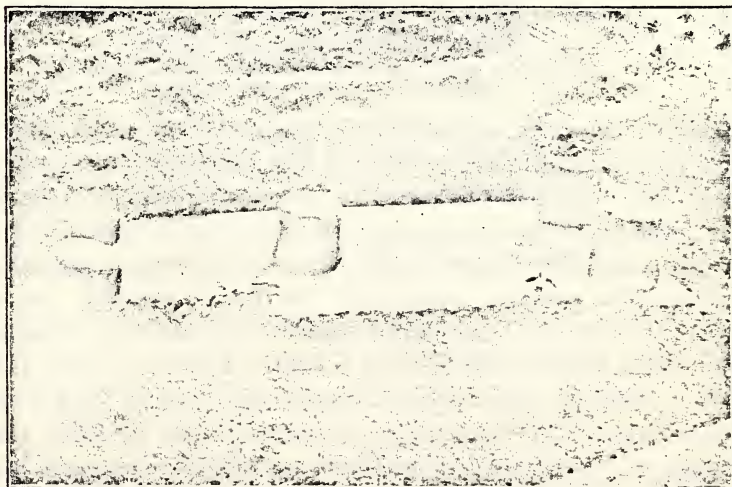
In 1793 he built the first house in York, now Toronto, a log cabin, at the east side of the Garrison creek. It was popularly known as "Lambeth Palace." He received a grant of 500 acres of land to the north of the Garrison commons, and here he settled as a Canadian citizen. He named his home "Oak Hill"—the English equivalent of Tordarroch—after the home which for 300 years had given shelter to his ancestors in Strathnairn. Here Col. Shaw had the honor of entertaining the Duke of Kent, Queen Victoria's father, on his visit to Toronto. In 1796 a frame building was erected near the log house; it was long a noted landmark of Toronto's early days and is said to have been the first private frame structure erected in York. General Shaw died in 1815, and his funeral was one of the most largely attended up to that time in Upper Canada. He was buried in St. James Cemetery, then surrounding what is now St. James' Cathedral. The cortege proceeded down Lot St., now Queen St., the coffin being carried on the shoulders of eight Grenadiers. It is said that 3,000 troops of all branches lined the route. In after days St. James church was burned down and a larger edifice erected on an extended site within the burial ground. On account of the disturbance of surface marks no trace could be found afterwards of General Shaw's grave.

Major-General Aeneas Shaw left a family of six sons and five daughters: viz., Alexander, Richard, John, Charles, Aeneas and



LOCH-AN-EILEAN.

The island, with its ruined castle, has attracted the attention of the greatest painters of the age and though much of the grand native forest of pine has disappeared, Loch-an-Eilean is still an attractive pilgrimage. There is a remarkable echo from the shore opposite the castle ; and it is understood the eagles are now left in peace.



TOMBSTONE OF SHAW MACKINTOSH.

Shaw Mackintosh was interred at Rothiemurchus, and upon his tombstone, of which a sketch is here given, there were placed eight roughly hewn pebbles, supposed as long as they remained to indicate prosperity to the Shaws. Through lapse of time some of these stones have disappeared and it is matter of tradition that, although the remaining stones were thrown into the river Spey on more than one occasion by evil-disposed persons, they were miraculously restored.

David; Isabella, who married John, son of Chief Justice Powell, U.C.; Anne, married to John Baldwin; Sophia, engaged to General Brock, who remained true to his memory; Mary and Charlotte. All his sons were in the army and served with distinction; one son, John, served in the Revolutionary War as lieutenant to his father, and was twice wounded in action. (See Chadwick's "Ontarion Families.")

Alexander, the eldest, 1785-1834, took part in some of the great historic battles of his day. Entering the 69th Regiment at the age of sixteen, he served thirty years in the army.



CAPTAIN ALEXANDER SHAW OF THE 69TH AND 35TH REGIMENTS; DIED JAN. 12, 1834.

In 1801, he was at the battle of Alexandria under Sir Ralph Abercromby, when victory was purchased by the death of that commander; in 1805, he served with the 10,000 troops that Sir James Craig landed at Naples to restore the Bourbon power; in the following year he shared in Sir John Stuart's "glorious expedition to Calabria," and in the Light Infantry Battalion, commanded by Col (Sir) James Kemp, he took part in the brilliant battle of Maida, where a force of 4800 British killed or captured 4000 of the 7300 French troops under Regnier. In January, 1809, he was with Moore at Corunna, and in July with General Alexander Mackenzie Fraser in the pestilential marshes of Walcheren, aiding in the capture of Flushing; in 1812, in Brabant under Sir Thomas Graham, and in 1815 with Wellington both in the Spanish Peninsula and at Waterloo; conducting himself through these varied vicissitudes of warfare as a brave and

gallant officer and winning the esteem and praise of his superior officers.



CAPTAIN GEORGE SHAW, QUEEN'S RANGERS
(SECOND REGIMENT OF THAT NAME).

Captain George Shaw, his son (born June 17, 1815, died July 8th, 1887), gave valuable service in the Canadian forces. He was gazetted ensign in the Queen's Rangers, the second corps of that name; he served as lieutenant and captain in the 4th Incorporated Militia. He was at the skirmish at Montgomery's Tavern, and the engagements at Navy Island and the Windmill.



LIEUT.-COL GEORGE ALEXANDER SHAW, R.L.

Lieut. Col. George A. Shaw,* his son, like his forebears, a well-known citizen of Toronto, gave twenty-two years of military service to his country. His record was one of steady promotion. His first commission dates from 1861, as ensign in the 4th Battalion, and he became Lieutenant in the 3rd Battalion, York Regiment. He served with the 10th or Royal Regiment in 1866, and throughout the Fenian Raid, becoming a Captain in 1867. He was Adjutant of the Regiment from 1871 to 1874, served as Major and retired as Lieut.-Colonel in 1881, handing over the command to Lieutenant-Colonel Grassett, now Chief of Police of Toronto.

* SERVICES OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GEORGE A. SHAW, M.S.R.L.

1st Commission, *Dated April 26th, 1861.*

Headquarters, Quebec 10th May, 1861.
Military District Five, Upper Canada.
Fourth Battalion, Toronto.

To be ensign :
George Alexander Shaw, Gentleman.

Memorandum.

Ensign George A. Shaw will take rank and precedence in the Battalion from 26th April last.

Memorandum.

Served as Ensign with the Flank Company of the Fourth Battalion during the Trent difficulty.

Headquarters, Quebec, 14th July, 1864
Service Militia, Upper Canada.
General Order.

The following candidates for commission in the Service Militia have received certificates from the Commandant of the School of Military Instruction at Toronto :

Ensign George Alexander Shaw

By command of His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief.

(Signed) WALKER POWELL, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Deputy Adjutant-General of Militia,
Upper Canada.

Memorandum.

Served with the Right Battalion, Military School Cadets, at La Prairie.

Headquarters, Ottawa, 2nd March, 1866.
Upper Canada, Third Battalion, York Regiment.

To be Lieutenant : Ensign George Alexander Shaw, Fourth Battalion, Toronto.

Headquarters, Ottawa, 23rd March, 1866.
Tenth Battalion, Royal Regiment, Toronto Volunteers.

To be Acting Ensign : Lieutenant George A. Shaw from Third Battalion, Service Militia, York.

Headquarters, Ottawa, December 28th, 1866.
To be Lieutenant : Ensign George A. Shaw, M. S., vice Colman promoted.

As a member of the Dominion Civil Service in connection with the Post Office Department, Colonel Shaw had many thrilling experiences. He passed through many railway accidents, in two of which he received serious injuries. On another occasion the train on which he was travelling took fire and by his promptness and presence of mind he averted a terrible disaster. The following account appeared in *The Telegram*, Toronto, June 16, 1881, under the headings "A Train on Fire—Narrow Escape of a Postal Car on the Great Western—A car in Flames:"—

"What at first threatened to be a very serious accident, but which was averted by the pluck and hard work of two clerks in the postal service, happened to the express which left Yonge Street Depot for Hamilton at 3.30 yesterday afternoon. The train was made up in the usual manner, there being a post office car in front, Mr. A. Finlay being in charge of the mails, and Colonel Shaw assisting him. The train is a fast one, and everything went well until Burlington Station was passed. Shortly after leaving that station, Mr. Finlay and Colonel Shaw were amazed to see torrents of smoke pouring into the car, coming in so fast and thick that it nearly suffocated them. At first they were at a loss to understand the cause, but on investigation they were alarmed at finding the front end of the car in flames, and burning briskly, being

Headquarters, Ottawa, 31st October, 1867.

General Orders, Volunteer Militia.

Tenth Battalion, Royal Regiment of Toronto Volunteers.

To be Captain: Lieutenant George A. Shaw, M.S., vice Brinel resigned.

Memorandum.

Captain Shaw, Acting Adjutant, from June 1871 to 1874.

Headquarters, Ottawa, 10th April, 1874.

General Order, Active Militia.

No. 1., Tenth Battalion or Royal Regiment, Toronto.

To be Adjutant: Captain and Brevet-Major George A. Shaw, M.S.

Headquarters, Ottawa, 3rd December, 1875.

No. 2, Tenth Battalion or Royal Regiment Toronto.

To be Major: Brevet Major and Adjutant George A. Shaw, M.S.

Headquarters, Ottawa, 9th April, 1880.

General Orders, Active Militia.

No. 4. Tenth Battalion, Royal Regiment, Toronto.

To be Lieutenant Colonel: Major George Alexander Shaw, M.S.

Headquarters, Ottawa, 5th November, 1880.

Tenth Battalion of Infantry, Royal Regiment, Toronto.

To be Lieutenant-Colonel: Henry James Grasett, Esquire, late of Her Majesty's 100th or Royal Canadian Regiment, vice George Alexander Shaw, who is hereby permitted to retire retaining rank as a special case.

Memorandum:

Handed over the colors of the Regiment to Lieutenant-Colonel Grasett, April, 1881.

Memorandum:

Served with the Tenth or Royal Regiment during the Fenian Raid, at Fort Erie and on the Niagara Frontier. Received medal and clasp.

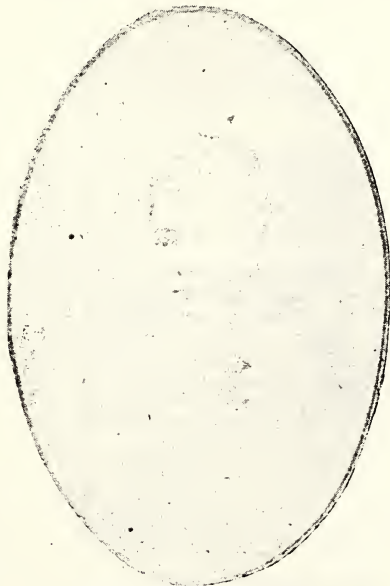


NEWHALL, ROSS-SHIRE—SEAT OF CHARLES F. H. SHAW.

fanred by the wind caused by the high rate of speed at which the train was travelling. The bell rope was pulled, and after running a few hundred yards the train was brought to a standstill. All hands turned to with a will ; water was procured, and the fire extinguished.

"When the fire was first noticed Colonel Shaw went to work knocking out the end of the car, while Mr. Finlay gathered up the mail matter into bags, ready to pitch them off the train should it be necessary to abandon the car. Luckily this was not necessary, and the train subsequently reached Hamilton all right. It is supposed a spark from the engine originated the fire, but whatever the cause, Mr. Finlay and Colonel Shaw showed themselves the right men in the right place, and it is to their vigilance principally that a very terrible accident was avoided."

Col. Shaw married, in 1882, Marion Christina, daughter of Gilbert Tice Bastedo, County Crown Attorney, Halton. Col. Shaw

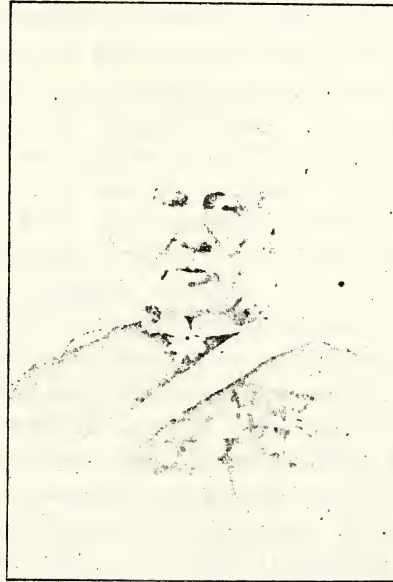


MRS. GEORGE A. SHAW.

is hale and hearty and is a highly respected citizen of Toronto, proud of his distinguished ancestry, as it is his right and duty to be, and jealous of the escutcheon he worthily bears. Yet in the free atmosphere of Canada he appreciates the words of one of the historians of his own clan, viz., that if "the glory of children are their fathers," yet those who indulge in pride of race should do so without demanding or expecting special honor on account of it from others, remembering that honor is one only to merit, and that no merit is necessarily conveyed by birth.

Returning to the family of Angus Shaw, of Tordarroch, once more, his eldest son, Alexander, had issue by his second wife, a

daughter of Henry Blanckly—a Hampshire family representative in the female line of the Raleigh family to which Sir Walter Raleigh belonged—Henry, an ensign, who died young, unmarried; Charles, an ensign in the 91st and lieutenant in the 17th Regiment, d., unm.; Claudius, served with the artillery on the Niagara frontier, had the Peninsular War medal, with clasps for San Sebastian and the Nile, commanded the artillery of the British legion in Spain; made a Knight Grand Cross and a Knight of the Second Class of the Order of San Fernando, and received



COL. CLAUDIUS SHAW.

various decorations besides. He was also a Knight of the Soverign Order of St. John of Jerusalem. His grandson is Alexander Macintosh Shaw, the Clan Chattan historian, now known as Alexander Mackintosh Mackintosh.

Alexander's youngest son, Duncan William Shaw, was Lieut.-Colonel 20th Bengal, N.I., and Resident at Boroda. The third son of Angus Shaw (brother of Alexander and Aeneas) was John, who rose to the rank of Major in the army. He was killed in action with a privateer on a voyage to the West Indies.

REV. CHARLES EDWARD THOMSON.

On November 13th, 1903, the United Empire Loyalist Association suffered a severe loss in the sudden death from typhoid pneumonia of its President, the Reverend Charles Edward Thomson, rector of St. Mark's, Toronto Junction. By both parents Mr. Thomson was of U. E. Loyalist stock. His grandfather, Archibald Thomson, came from Moudie Hill, Canobie, Scotland, to the colonies in America nearly one hundred and fifty years ago. Preferring to live and die a British subject, he crossed into Canada at the time of the American Revolution. He appears to have settled in Montreal before 1782; and after moving several times, he took up his abode in Scarborough, where he died at the age of seventy-one and was buried in St. Margaret's Churchyard in that township. His son, Hugh C. Thomson, editor of the *Kingston Herald*, was one of the earliest of Kingston's journalists, and a member of the first Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Canada. He represented Frontenac in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh Legislatures of Upper Canada (1825-35). In 1816, he married Elizabeth, seventh child of Sheriff William Ruttan and his wife, Margaret Steele of Adolphustown. They had issue nine children.

The Rev. C. E. Thomson, the youngest son of this marriage, was born at Kingston on the tenth of November, 1832. Losing his father at the age of two years, he was moulded in life and character in a great measure by his step-father, the Rev. Dr. Adam Townley, late of Paris, Ont. In 1852, he matriculated from Upper Canada College, into the University of Trinity College, among the first group of students that institution received. He was graduated in Arts in 1854 and received the degree of M.A. four years later. Meanwhile he had been studying for holy orders, and was ordained deacon in 1856 and priest in 1857. After working at Cobourg as curate to the Right Rev. A. N. Bethune, afterwards the second Bishop of Toronto, he assumed charge of Elora, where he remained twenty years. The present beautiful church of that town is scarcely a more enduring monument of his work there than those "acts of kindness and of love" that live in the hearts of the parishoners. After a short time in Hamilton, Mr. Thomson was requested by the Rev. Wm. Johnston of Weston to succeed him. It was an extensive field of work. The parish included Weston; the

original church of St. Philip, Etobicoke; St. Mark's, Carleton; and Runnymede, now St. John's, Toronto Junction. On the separation of Weston in 1882, he removed to Carleton and thus became the first rector of Toronto Junction. By his own efforts, he soon saw two more new rectories built up out of his own parish,—St. John's and St. Martin's-in-the-Field.

A devoted son of his church, he widened its influence wherever he served. Nor did his professional duties prevent him from taking a deep interest in the educational development of Ontario. For several years he was a member of the Collegiate Institute Board of Toronto Junction and in 1896 he was elected Chairman. As Chairman of the Monuments Committee, he directed the movement that led to the erection of the Simcoe Memorial in Queen's Park, Toronto. In 1901, he was President of the York Pioneers; and in this Association, of which he was one of the founders, he was just entering on his first term as President, after years of efficient service as a member of the Executive Committee.

Modest and unassuming in manner, Mr. Thomson was beloved by all who knew him. A cheerful companion, a student of deep learning and of wide sympathies, he possessed also great executive and administrative powers. His last illness came to him while discharging his pastoral duties; while paying a visit to a sick parishoner, he fell helpless in the street. "God's finger touched him" and in a few days he slept.

Early in life he married Miss Margaret Geddes, who with seven of their children survive him:—(1) Adelaide Elizabeth to Rev. E. W. Pickford, Norwood, Ont.; (2) Charles Townley, Printer, West Toronto; (3) Henry Andrew Hoffman, Manager Molsons Bank; (4) William Colborne, Artist, Toronto; (5) Charlotte Margaret Cecilia, to Percy Brown, Morden, Man.; (6) Reginald Hugh Ruttan, who died in 1887; (7) Francis Dora, who died about 1887; (8) Kenneth Gilbert Christopher, Druggist, Norwood, Ont.



E. A. MACLAURIN.
President — 1903-4.

EUGENE A. MACLAURIN.

Of the pleasant things one is sometimes called upon to do none can be more pleasing than to pay a deserved tribute to an esteemed friend. Mr. Eugene Alexander Maclaurin was born in the County of Glengarry, in the early fifties. His father came of a good, old Perthshire family having its habitat on the slope of the Braes of Balquidder, famous in song and story in the folk annals and literature of Scotland. Here, the grand old Celtic hymnist, Dugald Buchanan, first drew breath, and so extreme a contrast to him as Rob Roy was here gathered to his father's the sound of the martial slogan mingling with the swan-notes of his coronach. From romantic surroundings, each mountain peak, and silvery loch emblazoned with weird or stirring associations of an heroic past, came the Maclaurins, settling near Perth, Ontario. Of this family, John Maclaurin was educated for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church, taking his course in Scotland. He became assistant to the Rev. Norman Macleod, of St. Columba's Church, Glasgow, and on returning to Ontario to enter upon the work to which he had dedicated his life, the appreciation of the Glasgow people found expression in a complimentary address, a library of books and a valuable gold watch and chain, now an heirloom in his family. The Rev. John Maclaurin settled at Martintown, Glengarry, and very soon his great abilities won for him a conspicuous place in Eastern Ontario. He was an able preacher and a devoted pastor. As a Gaelic-preacher he was probably without a peer in the country in his day. The influence of Dr. Norman Macleod in this respect had deeply impressed him and his native language had no more earnest student nor abler exponent among his contemporaries. He died in 1855 and the popular respect shows to his memory in connection with the funeral ceremonies still lingers in the minds of the older people of the country.

The Rev. John Maclaurin married Anne, daughter of William Macdonnell, son of Col. Hugh Macdonell of U. E. Loyalist fame, and therefore of special interest in this sketch.

Hugh Macdonell, with others of his family and clan, settled in the Mohawk valley, on his coming from Scotland. When the troubles leading to the Revolutionary War began in his district there was no uncertainty as to what his sympathies were, and when the war broke out Mr. Macdonell took up arms, holding a

Lieutenant's commission. His family had been prosperous in the new land and their home was situated in a beautiful spot to which they had all become attached. The call to arms came to them suddenly and there was no time to save the household goods. The silver plate, sacred to the family by long old country associations, was, however, hurriedly buried in the ground at a spot not sufficiently marked to be discovered in the efforts made for its recovery years afterwards. Lieutenant Macdonell gave good service in the war, and was acknowledged as a faithful and capable officer. Without enlarging on these services, it is only necessary to say that when peace was restored, he with compatriot officers, and other U. E. Loyalists crossed to the County of Glengarry and settled on a farm—received for services—on the River Raisin, where a large family of sons and daughters was born to him. He rose, in the militia, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, having taken part in the 1812 and 1837 wars. At the taking of Ogdensburg he was known among the men as "Fighting Mac," anticipating by more than half a century the term applied to his famous clansman, General Sir Hector Macdonald. His description of the taking of Ogdensburg, for vividness of detail as seen by an eye-witness and participant, was well worth preserving. His sons were with him in the engagements which then took place, and the sword used by his son William is in the possession of Mr. Eugene A. Maclaurin, as a valued relic of the family.

Lt.-Colonel Hugh Macdonell's sons were William, Alexander, Donald, Duncan, and Archibald. There were several daughters. All these sons rose to positions of trust and responsibility in the pioneer days, contributing much to the well being and development of the country. It is recalled that Duncan was captain of the first steamboat which plied between Montreal and Quebec. The vessel was named "The Car of Commerce." William became collector and assessor for the County of Glengarry, and is remembered for his kind-hearted dealings with people who found it hard in the days of "roughing it," to make payments of rates, etc., while as a lover of Gaelic poetry he won the sobriquet of "William Ossian."

Lt.-Colonel Hugh Macdonell divided the homestead farm between his sons William and Alexander, and the latter's son, Alexander Cameron Macdonell still owns the place. To William was born one daughter, Anne, who, as has been stated, married

the Rev. John Maclaurin, Martintown, making the connecting link between the Maclaurin and the Macdonell families.

The Rev. John Maclaurin's family consisted of (1) Norman, (2) Donald, (3) Malvina Margaret (Mrs. Bidwell Way, Hamilton); (4) Eugene Alexander, (5) John, died in infancy. The representative of the family is Eugene Alexander, whose portrait accompanies this sketch. On the death of Rev. John Maclaurin, the family moved from Martintown to the homestead, and Eugene was educated first at Williamstown, then at Hamilton, and in the Military School, Kingston, where he obtained a first-class certificate and the diploma of the school. He entered the Civil Service of Ontario in 1872 and rose by gradual promotion to be head of the Accounts Branch in the Administration of Criminal Justice, attached to the Attorney-General's Department, a position requiring not only ability but considerable technical knowledge. It is pleasant to say that the value of his service has been freely acknowledged by successive Ministers of the Crown at the head of the Department.

Mr. Maclaurin is widely known in Presbyterian circles. A son of the manse, himself, his interest in church work was bred in the bone, and he has given generously of his time and means to the good cause. For some years he has been an elder in St. Andrews Church, Toronto, and has interested himself in Sunday School work.

With such loyal blood in his veins it was only to be expected that the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* would burn—and we find him a useful member of the Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association, an officer, a trustee, and a member of the Grand Executive Board, and in every such capacity enjoyed the esteem and perfect confidence of his confreres and countrymen among whom he has done much to deepen a loyal and patriotic feeling by example and precept. His Home associations and traditions imbued him at a very early age, with sympathy for the Loyalist side in the War of American Independence. The loyalty of the Clansmen then was easily compared to their loyalty to Bonnie Prince Charlie, and to other chiefs and national causes, and the spirit of the sires lived in the son. When, therefore, the U.E. Loyalist Association of Ontario was formed he was among its promoters and members serving on the Executive Committee; as Vice-President and as President. That the interests of the Association find a warm place in his heart, is to say, happily, what can be

said of every member, and it is, surely, a most hopeful fact, in casting a glance over the possible future of our dear country, that such disinterested loyalty, goodwill, and pure public spirit should be found, as it, indeed, ought to be found, among the descendants of those who, in the hour of danger and disaster, never despaired, but by suffering for the right won a victory for principle as enduring as the history of Canada, and illustrious in the annals of the world.

Mr. Maclaurin married a daughter of the late Dr. Tempest, of Toronto, formerly of England, a member of the widely-known Tempest family, of Yorkshire. The issue of the marriage are: Dr. Norman Tempest Maclaurin, Durham, Ont.; Maude Gwendolyn, and Clare Frances.

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Courtland, Ont.
- Walter C. McCall,
Simcoe.
- Alexander McCall,
Simcoe.
- Miss Elizabeth McBean,
Ottawa.
- Mrs. Street Macklem,
St. Catharines.
- Miss Charlotte Macaulay,
203 King St., Kingston.
- Harry W. Nanton,
Winnipeg.
- Augustus M. Nanton,
Winnipeg.
- Capt. Herbert Nanton,
Royal Engineers,
Bombay, India..
- C. G. K. Nourse,
Bank of Commerce,
Skaguay, Alaska.
- Mrs. O'Beirne, c
Lundy's Lane.
- Mrs. Patriarche,
New York.

1. The first of these is the
 fact that the system is
 not self-sufficient. It
 depends on the outside
 world for many of its
 needs. This is a serious
 weakness, and it must
 be remedied. The second
 is the fact that the
 system is not flexible.
 It cannot adapt to
 changing conditions.
 This is also a serious
 weakness, and it must
 be remedied. The third
 is the fact that the
 system is not secure.
 It is vulnerable to
 attack from the outside
 world. This is a serious
 weakness, and it must
 be remedied. The fourth
 is the fact that the
 system is not efficient.
 It wastes a great deal of
 resources. This is a
 serious weakness, and it
 must be remedied. The
 fifth is the fact that the
 system is not reliable.
 It often fails to perform
 its duties. This is a
 serious weakness, and it
 must be remedied. The
 sixth is the fact that the
 system is not scalable.
 It cannot handle a large
 number of users. This is
 a serious weakness, and
 it must be remedied. The
 seventh is the fact that
 the system is not
 maintainable. It is
 difficult to keep it
 running. This is a
 serious weakness, and it
 must be remedied. The
 eighth is the fact that
 the system is not
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Miss Violet Maude Patriarche,
New York.

Miss Daisy Ethel Patriarche,
New York.

Miss Marie Gladys Patriarche,
New York.

Mrs. Hannah Washburn Polson,
Kingston.

Miss Jessie Currie Polson,
Kingston.

Neil C. Polson, Jr.,
Kingston.

Henry Gordon Polson,
Kingston.

Stuart McDowell Polson,
Kingston.

James Alexander Polson,
Kingston.

Miss Isabella Johnston Polson,
Kingston.

Miss Hannah Washburn Polson,
Kingston.

Mrs. George A. Powell,
St. Catharines.

Miss Evelyn Pew,
Welland.

Mrs. Adelaide Elizabeth Pickford,
Orangeville.

Arthur D. Pringle,
Preston.

Rev. A. U. de Pencier,
Brandon, Man.

Mrs. Nancy M. Quantz,
Painswick.

F. D. Quantz,
Painswick.

Oswald Winnifred Quantz,
Painswick.

Miss Amy Luella Quantz,
Painswick.

Audrey Manson Quantz,
Painswick.

Wilmot Beverley Quantz,
Painswick.

W. H. Rowley, c
Worfield House,
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Mrs. James Robinson,
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Lieut.-Col. Henry Cassady Rogers,
Peterborough.

Miss Read,
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W. B. Robinson.

Miss Smart, c
Midalta, Port Hope.

Miss Martha A. Secord,
Homer.

John Pearson Turney Secord,
Orillia.

Thomas Hope Stinson,
Hamilton.

John Argue Stinson,
Hamilton.

Miss Marjorie Hope Stinson,
Hamilton.

Mrs. O. V. Q. Srigley,
Allandale.

Alexander Grant Sinclair, M.D.,
Memphis, Tennessee.

Arthur W. Smith,
Simcoe.

Edgar H. Strong,
Buluwayo, Rhodesia.
South Africa.

Mrs. Sherwood,
Box 103, Brockville.

Miss M. E. Servos,
Niagara-on-the-Lake.

Holly Skiff Seaman,
Brockville.

Miss Helen Sherwood,
Box 103, Brockville.

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Lieut.-Col. Hon. David Tisdale, c Simcoe.	Mrs. John H. Wilson, St. Thomas.
Mrs. Sarah Araminta Tisdale, c Simcoe.	N. Stanley Williams, 531 Richmond St., London.
Edgett Tisdale, c Simcoe.	W. B. Waterbury, St. Thomas.
Lady Van Hougenhouck Tullocken, 2nd Schvyt-Straat, 11 The Hague, Holland.	Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson, Petrolia.
Mrs. J. Thorburn, c Ottawa.	Mrs. W. H. Walker, Graphite City, Buckingham, P.Q.
Mrs. Phillip Todd.	Miss N. M. Wood, Cobourg.
Dr. Van Buskirk, St. Thomas.	Mrs. Warren, Fitzroy Place, University Park, Colorado.
Albert Harrison Van Dusen, Washington, U.S.A.	E. D. Young, Wallaceburg.
Dr. John H. Wilson, St. Thomas.	

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Hamilton.

Lemuel Charles Srigley,
Allandale.

Bryce Thompson,
102 Yorkville Ave.

Mrs. Margaret Geddes Thomson,
Carlton West.

Mrs. Richard DeVeber,
Brantford.

Matthew Warnock,
298 Sackville St.

Mrs. Youmans,
St. Catharines.

Members are requested to report any change of residence to the Assistant Secretary, and particularly to inform the Assistant Secretary in case of the death of any member, so that the same may be duly recorded by the Association.

“Head of the Lake” Branch, Hamilton.

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Thomas Beasley.	Mrs. George E. Husband.
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Mrs. A. Beasley.	T. H. Husband.
James D. Beasley.	S. F. Lazier, K.C.
Thos. A. Beasley.	J. H. Land.
George Flock Beasley.	Mrs. Nelson Mills.
Lewis Dimmick Birely.	Stanley Mills.
Mrs. Birely.	Mrs. Stanley Mills.
J. G. Y. Burkholder.	Robert Mills.
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Mrs. Cheseldine.	Mrs. Thomas Miller.
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Violet Marie Crerar.	Ethel Moore.
H. D. Crerar.	Fred. Moore.
A. J. Crerar.	Arthur Moore.
M. C. Crerar.	J. W. Nelson.
Harry Carpenter.	J. E. O'Reilly.
Sarah O. Carpenter.	Ingersoll Olmsted, M.D.
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W. R. Duff.	Mrs. Geo. Roach.
H. C. Duff.	His Honour Judge Snider.
Ethel Maude Duff.	Mrs. Stuart Strathy.
M. O'R. Duff.	J. H. Smith.
James Gage Davis.	Mary E. Smith.
Horace Davis.	Anna Smith.
James Dingwall.	Louise Smith.
E. M. Faulknor.	Warren Smith.
Clara E. Galbraith.	Ada Smith.
Mrs. C. Foster.	Arthur Smith.
H. S. Griffin, M.D.	Miss E. A. Smith.

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Agnes Taylor.

Mrs. R. R. Waddell.

Frank R. Waddell.

Ezra Waterman.

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Rev. Canon Bull, Ex-President Ontario Historical Society.

" Lundy's Lane Historical Society.







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